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ABSTRACT

Collected in this volume are preliminary materials related to the Belgrade-OMEP Project whose purpose is to make a record of those traditional children's games which are a part of the folk culture of various countries. The purpose of this publication is two-fold: (1) to serve as a handbook for the present collaborators on the Project in their research work; and (2) to inform and attract the greatest possible number of potential participants to the Project. The volume contains 14 individually authored papers which are generally brief. The papers focus on (1) the fundamentals of the project; (2) the theoretical and methodological problems of the project; (3) research problems and the development of the Flemish Folk Games File; (4) present research on traditional games of children; (5) play activities of children in different cultures; (6) problems of the project from an ethnological point of view; (7) traditional games of Japanese children; (8) children's lore and traditional games in Finland; (9) play as a subject of ethnological and educational research; (10) play, tradition, and traditional games; (11) the contribution of basic research to the survival of the Awele game; (12) differences in the authenticity of children's expression and the viewing angle of adults; (13) traditional games in the kindergarten; and (14) the protocol for the collection of traditional games, including Form A1 for the description of games acquired from adult informers, Form A2 for the description of observed games, and an explanation of the protocol. The collection is intended to serve as a handbook for research and as an invitation to other interested scholars to participate in the project. (RH)

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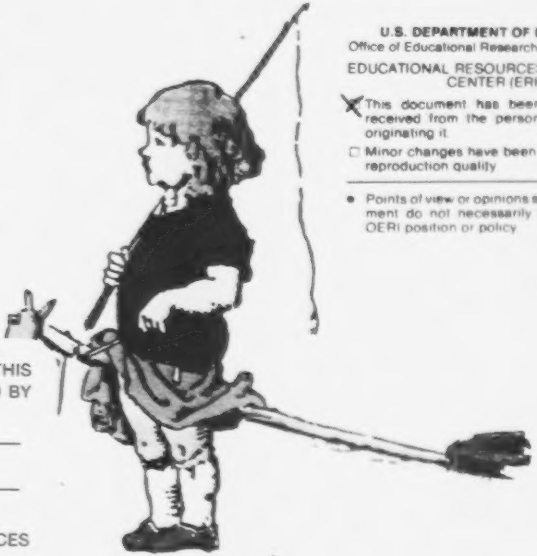

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Traditional Games and Children of Today

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Traditional Games Project

Traditional Games and Children of Today

Belgrade 1986.

Editors:

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The publication "Traditional Games and Children of Today" has come about as a result of the Conference dedicated to the Belgrade-OMEP Project on traditional children's games, held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in October, 1985. It contains the plenary and brief reports, as well as a summary of the discussions that took place at this Conference.

The Belgrade meeting represented the first step in the realization of the Belgrade-OMEP Project on traditional children's games, which was included in OMEP's program at the last World Congress in Geneva. This was an opportunity for professionals and the representatives of various OMEP member-countries to meet, exchange their experiences and their theoretical and methodological views, and to acquaint themselves with the ways in which traditional games were so far collected in particular countries, interesting descriptions of some already recorded games, and the results of various attempts at their revival in the educational and recreational work with children. Therefore, the discussions were focused on the initial questions concerning the Project, which demanded common answers as well as organizationally sound solutions for the realization of the Project in various societies, so that everyone could begin working in their own milieu. The publication "Traditional Games and Children of Today" is also only the first in a series of others which we expect will result from the Project realization. That is why certain very important and extensive reports, such as the one about the classification of traditional children's games (Mrs. Denise Garon, Canada), were not included here. We have reserved the mentioned report for one of the forthcoming publications, which should appear when the Project is in the phase of the classification and analysis of the collected games. Some very interesting reports were also not included, because they treated general problems of play and not traditional games.

The purpose of this publication is two-fold. We hope that it will, on the one side, serve as a sort of handbook for the present collaborators on the Project in their research work. On the other hand, we would like it to inform and attract to the Project the greatest possible number of potential participants, both among OMEP members and the professionals and institutions who are already working on the research of traditional games and looking for ways of their revival. The new collaborators which might join the Project as a result of reading this publication would not only contribute to the joining of the greatest possible number of countries in a common, interesting and useful endeavour in the education of young children, but would also bring more new, original and fruitful ideas to the Project. That would become the guarantee that the Project will be better able to fulfill complex tasks and achieve its objectives.

This publication is the result of close collaboration between OMEP International, the Yugoslav National Committee of the OMEP as the scientific research, and the Institute for Psychology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, which was appointed coordinator of the entire Project. The publication, as well as the organization of the Conference, was made possible through a subvention by UNESCO, to which we express our gratitude. We would also like to thank again all those participants from various countries who have been engaged in the realization of the Project from the very beginning, contributing to the success of the Belgrade Conference and thus making this publication possible. We particularly wish to thank and acknowledge Mrs. Madelleine Goutard, World President of the OMEP, who has continuously supported the Project, the organization of the Conference, and the publication of this volume.

The Editors

Ivan Ivić

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE PROJECT

This document is based on the work so far done on the preparation and realization of the **Belgrade - OMEP Project on traditional children's games**. It contains the information, reflections, and conclusions arrived at by the authors and coordinators of the Project in the Yugoslav National Committee of the OMEP, as well as the results of an international exchange of opinion about the problems concerning the project which had taken place inside the OMEP over the course of several years.

This document is in particular based on the results of the International Conference about the Belgrade - OMEP Project on traditional children's games (Belgrade, October 9th - 11th, 1985). In the preparation of this document we had in mind the views expressed in the main lectures and other contributions at the Conference and, in particular, the international plenary discussion about the goals and the theoretical, methodological, and practical problems concerning the Project.

1. The Initiative

This Project was first suggested at the 1979 Assembly of the OMEP (World organization for Preschool Education) in Vienna by the delegates of Denmark (J. Sisgard) and Yugoslavia (I. Ivić). The initial proposition was formulated by I. Ivić (in the office of president of the Programme Committee of the OMEP), and the Project was accepted in principle by the OMEP at its meeting in Helsinki in June 1981. I. Ivić was then appointed the project coordinator. In that capacity, I. Ivić has defined the theoretical framework of the project (see appendix 5), and A. Marjanović has elaborated a methodology for the collection of games. Both these documents had been distributed to the National Committees of the OMEP for discussion. A discussion about the integral project took place at the OMEP Congress in Geneva (August 1983). The Project was adopted, enlisted in OMEP's working program and added to the list of projects offered to UNESCO for cooperation. Yugoslavia was commissioned with the realization of the Project. The Yugoslav National Committee of the OMEP appointed the Institute for Psychology of the Belgrade University as the scientific research coordinator of the project. In that capacity, the Institute for Psychology has taken a series of steps towards realisation of the Project: a research outline was elaborated, trial field work was done, Professor B. Sutton-Smith of the USA was invited - by courtesy of the Fulbright Commision - for a fortnightly visit to Belgrade as counsellor for the Project, being the leading expert on traditional games.

The International OMEP and the Yugoslav National Committee of the OMEP have organized an international conference about the theoretical, methodological and practical problems concerning the project. It was held in Belgrade (Yugoslavia), on October 9th - 11th, 1985. There were about 120 participants, including the representatives of 14 National Committees of the OMEP from five continents. Three main lectures and fifteen brief reports were delivered at the Conference. A great deal of time at the Conference was dedicated to an international exchange of opinion on the objectives and the theoretical, methodological, and practical problems pertinent to the Project.

2. Project Objectives

The basic idea of the Project is the following: every national, ethnic and cultural group owns a treasury of traditional children's games, which still have a great cultural and educational value today. However, the existing wealth of material is nowhere recorded and runs the risk of disappearing or being distorted in the course of swift social change. Therefore, OMEP's task is to make a record of the traditional children's games in different countries according to a unique methodology. This is, basically, the same kind of task as the collection of other forms of folklore (fairytales, folk songs, stories, customs, etc.).

Beside this fundamental goal of preserving a form of folk culture, the Project also sets other objectives: to examine the possibilities of using traditional children's games in contemporary education, to test their possible role in preserving national identity, particularly in migrant children, to make a comparative analysis of the games from different cultures.

Based on such a conception of the project, we may plan to optain the following final products of the Project:

a) Anthologies of traditional children's games:
   - local, national and international anthologies
   - thematic anthologies (e.g. anthologies of competitive and cooperative games, or interactive, communicative and socializing games, or motoric vs. intellectual games, etc.)
   - anthologies of games for children of various age groups (early childhood, preschool, elementary school).

b) Products related to the implementation of games:
   - video cassettes with selected games and the ways of employing these in the education of children
   - video and computer games inspired by traditional children's games
   - sets of playing materials (which include the material for playing certain games with the description of the game rules)
   - commercially made traditional toys which serve as props in traditional games (the toys being either in the traditional manner or being modeled in a modern fashion and made of contemporary materials using contemporary technology).

c) Campaigns and action-oriented projects:
  - the creation of major centers for the revival of traditional children's games, which would offer special conditions created to allow contemporary children to enjoy playing traditional children's games
  - action research of the effects of introducing traditional children's games in certain children's groups (in kindergartens, children's holiday camps, schools, etc.)
  - the diffusion of traditional children's games through the medium of TV programs for children and educational programs.

d) National and international bibliographies on traditional children's games (Suggested by V. Mišurcova, Czechoslovakia).

At the Conference in Belgrade, it was also suggested to have in perspective certain preliminary products of the Project (produits intermediaires, defined by G. Brougere, France). The definition of such preliminary products would contribute to the usefulness of the Project's results even before the entire Project is completed within a given country or the OMEP. Such intermediary products would include the compilation and copying of the first minor collections of traditional games (collected in one town or some narrow region), and placing these at the disposal of the youngsters' educators who could try these games out in schools, kindergartens and the family, to see how the children accept them; they would also include amateur video-tapes of the traditional games of certain regions and their employment in education, TV broadcasts about the Project of collecting traditional games while it is still going on, the publication of bibliographies on traditional children's games, etc. According to G. Brougere's idea, these preliminary results of the Project would inspire new collaborators to join in.

3. The Theoretical and Methodogical Problems Related to the Project

A number of Conference participants have discussed the theoretical purpose and justification of this Project (in particular: J. Grasza - Poland, A. Marjanović - Yugoslavia, R. Renson - Belgium, Z. Rajković - Yugoslavia, J. Retschitzki - Switzerland, I. Blackney - Great Britain, E. Balke - Norway, M. Pešić - Yugoslavia, O. Murdževa - Yugoslavia, M. Kožić - Yugoslavia, G. Bourgere - France). They have, in the course of discussion, seriously posed the problems concerning the lack of a theoretical basis for the project, the justification of recording games out of context, the meaning of the concept of traditional games, and the stability and change in traditional games.

Due to the nature of the OMEP, which is not a scientific association, and to the variety of conditions under which the different national committees will be working on the realization of this Project, it is not possible to give a uniform theoretical definition of the Project, or to carry it out in a uniform manner. Therefore, we need a flexible concept of the Project which would allow the greatest possible number of countries to join the Project in specific and individually adequate ways.

The fundamental theoretical statements which could nevertheless ensure a certain unity within the Project would be as follows:

Traditional children's games are a part of the folk culture (traditions populaires, tradizioni popolari, Volksdichtung, etc.), i.e., the spiritual production of the populace accumulated over a lengthy period of time.

The folk culture is the non-official culture of non-ruling social strata. It develops in the form of oral culture. This form of its existence determines many of its other characteristics. As it is not fixed in the form of written documents, folk culture undergoes continuous change, incorporating the anonymous creative production of numerous individuals. It is, therefore, the work of collective creation. Con-

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sequently, this form of culture obeys the "law of change" (V. Propp), which is primarily manifested in the existance of numerous variations of one given product of the folk culture. Beside the preservation of the original form, the changes consist in: disappearance (extinction), innovation, reinterpretation (change in the meaning of the earlier forms), the creation of hybrid forms, transformation (of content, for example, with the retention of the basic structure), etc. In other words, traditional products of folk culture reflects two processes: the process of preservation, as well as the process of constant change in the older products which are in continuous interaction with the socio-cultural milieu of their origin.

These basic characteristics of the folk culture also fully apply to traditional children's games. It is significant to note, in relation to these games and to children's folklore in general, that some of the conditions for its development still exist under contemporary conditions. Namely, children in contemporary societies are still to a great extent a marginal social group, their mentality (especially at younger ages) is well suited to the creative products of the popular mind (demonstrated, for example, by the inclination contemporary children show for folk tales), the oral form transmission is still very significant in the children's subculture, with all its relevant consequences (the extinction of whatever is not suited to the children, the introduction of innovations, the creation of hybrid forms), etc. Hence, games are still being created in children's groups today in the manner in which adult folklore used to take shape in times past (as well as today in many social situations).

The creation of traditional children's games and the children's social praxis in the form of playing these games represent one of the most significant mechanisms in the constitution of generations of young people as a separate social group (A. Marjanović - Yugoslavia).

A more detailed outline of the theoretical concepts on which the Project is based may be found in the papers by the Project authors (A. Marjanović and I. Ivić - Yugoslavia). These theoretical concepts which underlie the Project have several important methodological consequences, as follows:

a) If traditional folk culture is characterized by a **process of change**, then there is no dilemma as to whether one should collect only ancient children's games or newer ones, too. The basic characteristic of traditional games is that they are products of the folk culture (and not of the official one), that they change in the process of collective creative effort, and that they are, hence, of anonymous authorship (i.e., there is no single author known, there is no copyright, they are not commercial products). **The crucial criterion for distinguishing traditional games is therefore not the time of their appearance, but the manner of their creation and the mechanism of their transmission.**

b) It follows from the previous paragraph that it is very important to record all the variations which appear in the course of time (and give dates for their appearence, if possible) or depending on local conditions. The data on such variations give additional information about the nature of each game.

c) Bearing in mind the fact that the traditional children's games are interrelated with the conditions of life, i.e. the socio-cultural context, it follows that a text-based approach (i.e., the mere recording of games, regardless of the conditions of their origin and the way they are played in context) necessarily has its limitations. The cataloguing and description of games and their variations is valuable for the preservation of the games but doesn't allow their interpretation. It is therefore necessary , whenever possible, to add the study of games in context to the text-based approach (see section "The Possible Forms of Participation in the Project"). The game-collecting protocol, offered in two forms (by A. Marjanović, Yugoslavia), attempts to overcome as far as possible the faults of the text-based approach. Naturally, in order to totally overcome its limitations, it would also be necessary to use other research instruments than these protocols. On the other hand, the actual compilation of anthologies of traditional children's games and the effort at their practical realization represent an attempt to introduce these games into life of contemporary children, allowing the "law of change" of traditional cultural products to be activated again. In that sense, this procedure may be treated as a form of action research which will enable us to investigate the link between this form of traditional culture and the children's contemporary living conditions.

4. Defining the Categories of Games to be Collected in the Project

In an intercultural research which is to encompass very different and distant cultures, it is not possible to set out with a rigid logical definition of the phenomenon to be recorded.

However, in order to secure a minimum of unity within the project, it is necessary to have a preliminary flexible definition of the categories of games to be recorded in all the countries. In the course of the international exchange of opinion on the Project, it was attempted to define the categories of games to be collected in all the countries - participants in the Project in the following ways: by opposition (traditional vs. modern games, children's vs. adults' games, etc.), by ennumeration (listing the kinds of games and the particular games to be collected), by the positive, operational (as far as possible) definition of the categories of games to be taken into collection.

a) Play and Non-Ludic Behavior

As there are considerable differences between various cultures in discerning between ludic and non-ludic forms of behavior, it is necessary to allow the researchers in each culture to define that boundary. A subjective criterion may be of some use: i.e., what is it that children and adults in each culture consider to be play (A. Marjanović, Yugoslavia).

b) The Play of Adults and the Play of Children

The focus in this Project will be on children's games, those games played by children themselves, independently, at their own initiative, Therefore, play as an autonomous childhood activity is in focus.

However, it is not possible - in many cultures and in certain situations - to separate the play of children and the play of adults.

It is quite certain that at early ages (up to three or four), the separation is not posible.

Therefore, games of interaction between adults and young children should also be included in our Project, such as bouncing, clapping, tickling games, etc. Experiences from India (M. Goutard, President of the OMEP), where such interactional games are very common, may serve as an example. Also, researchers should be allowed the freedom to collect the games in which adults and other children play together, if these are characteristic for the given culture.

c) Other Forms of Children's Folklore and Traditional Children's Games

Cultural products for children, such as fairy tales, fables, folk tales, etc., are outside the scope of our Project.

Childern's folk-songs in their pure form do not belong to the category of children's traditional games which we are collecting in the Project. Of course, many traditional children's games have rhythmic and musical components (counting rhymes, chants and songs as part of more complex games, etc.), and those will be recorded.

Children's sports are similar in this respect. The pure forms of formalized and institutionalized sports games (soccer and the like) do not belong to the category of games collected in this Project. However, competitive games with motoric components (all games of skill and agility, etc.), which are traditional and have not developed into modern forms of sports games, do belong to the category of games to be recorded.

d) Games with Rules and Symbolic Games

Games with rules are basically in the focus of our Project (from the simplest ones, such as hand-clapping games, to those with very complex implicit rules). Symbolic games (in the sense of improvized symbolic games) do not belong to the games we collect. However, many games with rules contain elements of symbolic games (masks, disguise, role-playing, symbolic gestures, etc.), and these complex games with rules which contain symbolic components do belong to the category of recorded games. Also, we should record all those combinations of games with rules and symbolic (imaginative) games, in which the combination is at the center of the game (M. Duran, Yugoslavia). These are the games in which certain playing behaviors are decided by rules, while other parts of the game require originality and creativity (this usually entails playing certain roles, such as thief, rescuer, attacker, etc., which require the formulation of the text in that role, a jocular defence or attack, the humorous twisting of a message, the witty solution of a riddle, etc.). Such combined games would be particularly useful in stimulating the creative abilities of children.

e) The Positive Definition of the Games to be Collected

Summing up the efforts at defining games, we arrive at the following specification of the games that should be collected in this Project. In this Project, our interest is focused at traditional children's games which are a part of the folk culture (and not the institutionalized and organized modern fun and leisure) in which the child actively employs all his

physical, motor, sensori-perceptive, intellectual, linguistic, social, and emotional abilities.

This definition excludes the pure forms of adult games, modern games (with known authors or copyrighted by some company), folk and other cultural products for children in which they are not active but serve as the audience; this also excludes the pure categories of traditional children's dance, folk-songs, and children's sports.

The games to be collected in the Project, thus defined, basically can be reduced to two categories: a) **traditional children's games with rules**, and b) non-rule regulated games, games in which behavior is mostly regulated, but not by rules, but by **behavioral patterns**. Common to these two categories of games is that they are quite **stable** in form (as opposed to the pure forms of symbolic games where improvisation is dominant), that they appear as "**amazing social institutions**" and, as such, form a part of the folk culture and can be transmitted from one generation to another.

The first category of games - traditional games with rules - is characterized by the existence of an explicit **system of rules** which regulate the behavior of the players. These rules are supraindividual, conventional, and obligatory for all participants in the game. This does not exclude the existence of variations of games and changes in rules, but once the players have agreed on the rules and the game variation to be played - these become obligatory. The rules may be very simple (as, for example, in all counting-out procedures), but also may be very complex, so that a high level of intellectual development is required to understand them (so that, for example, younger children cannot understand them). Typical examples of traditional children's games are hide-and-seek, games of marbles, tag, etc.

The other category of games - those based on **stable behavioral patterns** - is much more heterogen ones. Their stability arises from the **universality** of certain behavioral patterns, or consists in the **ritualization** of behavior. Playing behaviors are, therefore, to a great extent regulated in these games, too, but not by an explicit system of conventional rules but by the universality of certain behavioral patterns. The universality of patterns is various in origin. It may be the result of the **physical characteristics** of objects and toys used in the game (i.e., the manner of throwing or catching a ball or a boomerang, or the game of bow and arrow, etc.). Another source of universality are the **motor patterns in human behavior** (e.g., various games of balance, jumping games, leaping, running, all games of motor agility, etc.). There are also games whose characteristics result from a **combination** of the physical characteristics of objects used in the game and characteristics of human motility (such as rope-jumping games, sack-racing, walking on stilts, etc.). In all these games, physical, material factors play a great role, which was pointed out at the Belgrade Conference by D. Garon (Canada), stressing that this form of games is particularly important for very young children, who cannot yet understand more complex games with rules.

Sensori-perceptive patterns are the following source of these non-rule regulated games. Here we find all those games which employ the universal patterns of sensori-perceptive behavior, such as tossing games (the tossing up and catching of the child), finger and toe games, watching games, all vertigo games, all games of perceptual dexterity and skill, etc.

Universal patterns of interaction and communication are also a common source of this category of games. Here we find the hiding and declosing games (from the simplest, such as peekaboo, to very complex games with masks and disguise, etc.), mother-and-infant interaction games, games of competition and cooperation, betting games, daring games, all team games, etc.

Very close to the former games are those which are based on **general patterns of speech behavior**: riddles and conundrums, dialogue games, message-twisting games, tounge-twisters, senseless rhymes, tales without ending, word twisters.

Intellectual games (games of reflection, games of wit, games of logic, games of intellectual skill, etc.) are based on **universal patterns of intellectual behavior**.

Although the affectional component is present in all forms of games, there are also special games based on **affectional patterns**. These are: making funny faces, kissing games, games of choice based on liking, games of insolence, games of control of feeling (e.g., laughter), burial and mourning games, wolf-and-lamb games and similar games based on the child's separation anxiety, scaring games, games of expression, mocking games, etc.

Of course, there are all sorts of intermediary forms between games of rules and this second category of games (games based on general behavioral patterns), and it is not always possible to differentiate them clearly. That is not even necessary for the purposes of this project, as we shall be collecting the both kinds of games. The specification of these games and their forms was meant to facilitate the identification of all the games which are to be collected.

So, two big categories of games (games with rules and games based on universal patterns of human behavior) form a part of the folk culture. They contain the centuries-old playing experience gained within various cultures and human communities. Because of the variety and wealth of behavior activated by these games, they represent a priceless tool in the stimulation of children's development, in the enrichment of their lives, and the awakening of their enjoyment of life.

When we have in mind the differences between various cultures in the forms of traditional children's games, then an international project aimed at their collection and revival gains even greater significance.

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5. The Classification of Collected Games

In view of the Project objectives and the proposed final products (see previous sections), it will be necessary to pose the problem of the classification of collected games in a particular light.

In solving the problems of collection, all the relevant classification systems will naturally be used (Caillois, Piaget, etc.), but, due to the special requirements of the Project, it will also be necessary to elaborate special classification systems for the games to be compiled in various countries. These classification systems will be based on the following criteria: game content, the psychological functions employed in the game, the social-psychological function of the games, the psychogenetic (developmental) criterion, the structure of games.

At the Belgrade Conference, a very valuable contribution toward the elaboration of a system for the classification of games was given by D. Garon (Canada), who summarized her book on that topic. (D. Garon: **La classification des jeux et des jouets**, La Pocatiere, Documentor, Quebec, 1985).

Setting out from formerly known systems for the classification of games and the Garon system, the problem of game classification will be solved in further stages of work on the Project by the method of individual exchange of opinion between the Project participants. This line of problem-solving is made necessary by the need for the classification system, which is to be used in the project, to take into account the cultural variety which is to be expected in any intercultural project. In other words, the systems of classification must not be rigidly defined before- hand, but must be adapted to the nature of collected games.

6. The Possible Forms of Participation in the Project

Due to great differences between the member-countries of the OMEP, the forms of joining in this common OMEP project have to be very flexible.

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The manner in which any given National Committee of the OMEP will participate in this Project will depend on the following factors: the needs (educational, cultural, etc.) for such an endeavor of collecting traditional children's games, the present state of affairs in the country (in some countries there already exists large published collections of games, in some places this has only partially been done, while these games have hardly at all been recorded in other countries), the available professionals for work on the Project (ranging from amateur collectors such as teachers, to professional researchers and entire research institutions), the available financial resources, etc.

Because of these differences in the conditions for the realization of the Project in various countries, the OMEP National Committees, other national institutions, as well as individual participants in the Project, may choose one or more of the following forms of joining the work on the Project.

Model 1: The Compilation of Collections of Traditional Children's Games

This form of participation is the simplest one. It rests on the text-base approach which was mentioned in the section on the theoretical and methodological problems of the Project. In brief, this form of participation in the Project consists in the collection and description of those traditional children's games (and their variations) which were defined in the previous sections of this document.

The collecting of games is done on the basis of following sources: bibliographic sources (the compilations of games previously published in various magazines and books), iconographic sources (the identification and reconstruction of games depicted in pictures and paintings), adults or children as informers who give descriptions of games. For the purpose of these interviews, researchers may use the protocol for collecting games - form A1.

When the Project is being realized in this form, non-professionals may be employed as research collaborators: kindergarten and elementary teachers, students, cultural propaganda workers, etc.

On the basis of the games thus collected, it will be possible to publish local, regional, and national anthologies of traditional children's games (either general, thematic, or age-specific). Each country which makes a collection of games on its territory in this manner will also give its contributions to international anthologies.

On the basis of the collection of games thus compiled, it is possible to implement these games directly in working with children (in day-care institutions, schools, using the mass media). Therefore, attempts at the revival of traditional children's games based on such collections are possible.

The limitations of this form of participation in the Project are evident. The most fundamental of these is that children's games are being separated from children's playing practice and the social, cultural, and historic context in which they were created and in which they now exist.

Model 2: The Study of the Practice of Playing Traditional Children's Games

This form of participation may be a continuation of the previous form, or may be carried out independantly.

The basic characteristic of this form of participation in the Project is that it does not end with the description of games, but also studies the actual process of playing traditional children's games, the playing behavior in some precisely defined setting (i.e., a single city quarter, an entire small town, a single village or a region, some ethic or national group, etc.).

The new information obtained in this sort of research of traditional children's games includes: which games (and their variations) are still present in the lives of children today, with what frequency are certain games played, how widespread certain games are in various children's groups (various age groups, boys and girls, village and city children), what is the exact meaning of a game for children (as games, which appear to be the same in a text-based record, may have quite different meanings in playing practice), how these games change in the modern times, what are the channels and mechanisms for their transmission among contemporary children, etc.

This form of research also requires the collection of data on children's groups and the environments surrounding the practice of these games (the geografical location of the settlement, the children's ethic, cultural, and linguistic identity, an overall description of the settlement, basic data about the economic, social, and cultural status of the milieu, etc.).

For collecting data on the playing practice of traditional children's games, field workers may use the game collecting protocol - form A2. It is necessary, besides, to gather the data mentioned in the previous paragraph from the relevant sources.

This form of participation in the Project may as well be realized by collaborators who are not profesional researchers (teachers, cultural propaganda workers, etc.), although this form of research sets more complex tasks before them: the observation of children's behavior in play, the collection of data about the environment, etc. Besides, it is necessary to provide certain technical aids (a camera, tape or cassette recorder, optional video equipment) in order to make a more accurate recording of certain behaviors (characteristic playing scenes, facial expressions, the musical-rhythmic components of the game, etc).

This second form of realization of the Project can produce the following results: various collections of games, notably those games still present in the lives of children in certain settings, or video cassettes with selected games. Besides, the study of the actual process of playing traditional games in certain settings and the other collected data allow an exact understanding of the meaning a game has for children in a given context, an understanding of the process of transmission and preservation of traditional children's games, insight into the preferences of children for certain kinds of games, into the frequency with which certain games are played, etc.

Model 3: The Study of Traditional Children's Games in a Socio-cultural Context

This model of realization of the Project comprises both the previous ones (i.e., the cataloguing of games in a given environment and the study of the playing practice of these games). The basic characteristic of this model is the study of the context (historical and socio-cultural) in which the games have originated and in which they live. Therefore, in contrast to Model 2, in which only the fundamental data about the context are gathered, we have here a complete original study of that context. Once the ethnic, cultural, regional, or some other group on which the reseaerch is conducted is defined, the systematic collection of the relevant data about the defined environment is undertaken.

The first group of relevant data concerns traditional children's games (similarly to Model 1, and roughly following the protocol A1. Then, whenever made possible by the available sources, an attempt should be made to collect the data on the origin and history of these games, which includes information about the processes of transformation of these games within some period of time (e.g., in the past century). This means, further, that a study is also made of the games preserved in contemporary children's play (i.e., Model 2 of research).

The next aspect of research consists in the study of the relationship between those categories of traditional children's games which are collected in this project and other forms of children's folklore, as well as those forms of adult folklore which are relevant for the understanding of traditional children's games.

The basic value of this form of Project realization lies in the study of the social, cultural, and historical context found in the locality under the study. This practically means that, beside the collection of children's games, we conduct historical, cultural, ethnographic, sociological, and social-psychological research which will help us define the basic parameters pertinent to the particular environment or human community in question. This kind of research, naturally, requires a special research plan to be made and special instruments to be elaborated (or the results of already completed research are using).

Unlike Models 1 and 2, this kind of thoroughly planned research project allows us to place traditional children's games in context. This opens the **possibility of interpreting** these games: their origin, their historical development, their interrelation with other forms of culture, their relatedness to the life of a certain human community. In this way, such a research may become **explicative.**

An example of research closest to what we describe in Model 3 can be found in the study of folk games of New Zealand, described in the book by B. Sutton-Smith (1972): **The Folkgames of Children.** University of Texas Press, Austin-London.

Model 3 of realization of the Project actually has all the characteristics of a scientific research project. Therefore, it can only be carried out by professional researchers and completely equipped institutions for scientific research.

Model 3 of realization of the Project may result in all the final products described in the relevant section of this document.

Model 4: Various Forms of Revival of Traditional Children's Games

This form of realization of the Project consists in various attempts to introduce traditional children's games into the lives of contemporary children. This mode of project realization will, therefore, most often take the form of an action-oriented experiment (an experiment in the sense that we are trying to ascertain the extent to which contemporary children will accept traditional games), or various forms of cultural campaigns or cultural animation. The revival forms may vary in scope - from the creation of large

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specialized centers for the revival of traditional games (some sort of "live museums" of these games) to simple, limited attempts at introducing these games in individual kindergartens.

An example of an ambitious attempt of this sort was described at the Belgrade Conference by R. Renson (Belgium). It concerns a center founded in Flanders, Belgium.

Other forms of revival were also described at the Belgrade Conference: a revival of the people's circus in Brazil (R. Dinello, Uruguay), an attempt at inspiring traditional game playing in the family and the Play Day campaign in Finland (S. Kuosmanen), experiences with the revival of traditional children's games in the kindergarten (J. Nikić, Yugoslavia), using traditional children's games and toys in the modern kindergarten (E. Nakamura, Japan), the creation of dramatic workshops inspired by traditional games (a workshop was organized at the Belgrade Conference by Lj. Beljanski-Ristić, Yugoslavia).

These are only a few of the possible ways of revival of traditional children's games. Other forms might be: video cassettes with selections of traditional games, regular TV series on local or national television, the introduction of traditional children's games in schools with various educational objectives, the practice of traditional children's games in children's holiday camps, etc. Of course, it is also possible to implement all other forms that can be thought of by teachers, volunteers, cultural propaganda workers, writers for children,dramatic creators, etc.

The four described models for the realization of the Project should only facilitate the decision of the National Committees of the OMEP to take part in the project. The models could also be used to describe **phases of realization** of the Project (the logical order would be from Model 1 to Model 4). Besides, **combinations** of the four described models are possible (e.g., Model 1 - game collecting, and Model 4 - some form of their revival, etc.).

The choice of the model of project realization remains, naturally, the exclusive right of each National Committee and other national institutions. The choice should take into consideration the actual cultural and educational needs of each environment, the status quo in the collection and study of traditional children's games, and the available material and professional capacities.

7. The Organization of the Project

This Project is a part of the working program of the OMEP (World Organization for Preschool Education). The international OMEP has appointed the Yugoslav National Committee to be the Project executor. The Yugoslav National Committee of the OMEP has entrusted the scientific aspects of work on the Project to the Institute for Psychology of Belgrade University. Therefore, this Institute appears as the scientific research organizer and supervisor of the Project.

The Institute address is:

INSTITUT ZA PSIHOLOGIJU
FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET
CIKA-LJUBINA 18-20
11000 BEOGRAD
YUGOSLAVIA

Tel. 638-754 (area code for Yugoslavia - 38)
(area code for Belgrade - 11)

The persons at the Institute for Psychology responsible for this Project are Prof. Dr. Aleksandra Marjanović, Prof. Dr. Ivan Ivić, and Gorjana Litvinović (scientific research secretary of the Project).

The National Committees wishing to participate in the Project are responsable for deciding on **the mode of organization** for the realization of the Project in their own country. The executors of the Project in the individual countries may be: the National Committees or other national institutions (scientific research institutions, universities, professional associations of folklorists, pedagogues, teachers, etc.), or individual persons.

The **financial resources** for the realization of the Project have to be provided by the Project exe- cutor in each country from national sources.

For the realization of the international aspect of the Project (meetings, the printing of certain documents, the preparation of international anthologies, etc.), the OMEP will try to provide special resources. The source of these may be: OMEP's budget, subventions by other international agencies and foundations, the National Committees' resources (particularly for the organization of Project-centered meetings in the given country and for the preparation and printing of Project documents).

8. Deadlines

This document, which is to serve as a basis for the Project, precedes its realization in all the countries wishing to participate.

The National Committee of the OMEP, other national institutions, and interested individuals **should announce their participation in the Project before the OMEP Congress in Jerusalem (in July, 1986).** Applications should be sent to the address of the Institute for Psychology (as given above).

A special meeting devoted to this Project will be held at the Congress in Jerusalem (July, 1986).

The Norwegian National Committee (Eva Balke) has suggested that the annual OMEP seminar which will be held at the time of the OMEP World Council meeting in 1987 in Oslo to be devoted to the problems of the project "Anthologies of Traditional Children's Games". That will be a good occasion to discuss all the current problems related to the Project and to agree on further phases of Project realization (the elaboration of a system of classification of games, the preparation of international anthologies, etc.).

9. What is Expected of Each National Committee

Toward the end of coordinating the activities of the National Committees and the most efficient execution of the Project in the different countries, each National Committee of the OMEP should accomplish the following:

- a) Decision on its participation in the Project.
- b) Announcement of its participation in the Project. The application is to be submitted to the address of the Institute for Psychology in Belgrade given above. It should contain: the decision about participating in the Project, the address of the national institution/s and individuals who are to be the executors of the project, the chosen model for the realization of the project.
- c) Organization of the national institutions and individuals who are to participate in the Project.
- d) Provision of the financial resources for the realization of the Project in their own country.
- e) To establish the contact with the Project coordinator and the Institute for Psychology in Belgrade, in order to deliver all comments and suggestions, and ask the Project coordinator for all the necessary documents, the bibliography, or other forms of aid.
- f) To send all relevant material to the address of the Institute for Psychology, including descriptions of all collected games, descriptions of other activities undertaken as a mode of realization of the Project, the collection of traditional games formerly published, and national publications relevant to the Project.

Aleksandra Marjanović

THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE PROJECT ON TRADITIONAL GAMES[1]

1. Why we must formulate our own theoretical and methodological framework for the project "Anthologies of Traditional Games"

The collection and study of traditional games has itself a long tradition.

In the book "Games of the World" (Grunfield, F. 1979), we are informed by the author of the preface, R.C. Bell, that the first collection of folk games was published in 1283 by the Castilian king Alfonso the Wise, exactly 700 years ago. The learned King's intention was to issue an encyclopedia of knowledge and skill, and he enlisted play as a subject of importance, along with "history, religion, astronomy and magic".

Both the King and his work may be considered a historical·rarety. However, not only are games ancient phenomena, but the reflection about them also reaches into the far past. Pictures of traditional games have entered the medieval and Renessaince literature as a means of representing the popular, unofficial, "material-corporal" philosophy of life (Bahtin, M. 1978), play as an ontological problem became the subject of philosophy relatively early (Siler, F. 1974/1975), and in the 19th century the continuous collection and scientific study of traditional games started taking place – a somewhat belated reflection of the much earlier inflamed elation over the people and folk creations (Cocchiara, G. 1985).

Thus, today, beside the fact that every culture is rich with traditional games, we also have the fact that the human cultural heritage includes numerous collections and studies of traditional games and play in general.

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[1] During the Conference in Belgrade the official title "The Belgrade OMEP Traditional Games Project" was adapted.

We might say that so many predecessors would have trodden a path for the project "Anthologies of Traditional Games". For it would be natural to expect that the long period of research had led to the construction of a relatively consistent theoretical system which could solve the crucial theoretical and methodological problems.

However, it is already in the first contact with the literature that such expectations are shattered to bits and pieces. Not only does our project not find the theoretical and methodological ground cleared, but is trapped in a labyrinth of different, often contrary, definitions, approaches, and methods of studying, explaining and interpreting games, with no Ariadne's thread to take us safely into the open. Avedon and Sutton-Smith (Avedon, E. and Sutton-Smith, B. 1971) have exerted the effort to gather all the conceptual variety in one place, and they demonstrated that play is variously defined depending on what is whished to be marked by it in the various practical areas or, otherwise, which type of behavior, social institution or cultural form is attempted to be conceptualized in scientific disciplines and theories through play.

As play is studied by very different disciplines - the study of folklore, ethnology, anthropology, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, etc. - it is most often the case that the theories created within these disciplines for the elucidation of phenomena other than play (cults, rituals, cognitive functions, defense mechanisms, etc.) are simply extended to play as an additional field which offers the possibility to test the applicability, validity, and particularly, the range of a given theory.

The fact that we keep coming back to the initial questions about play makes us believe that we are trying to look at something with dim focus. This is best illustrated by traditional games or games with rules. Almost all great contemporary theories falter when it comes to interpreting the nature and function of games with rules. If we take, as an example, Piaget's theory of play, we shall easily see that no matter how smoothly, within its limits, a great psychogenetic theory can deal with sensori-motor and symbolic games, its attempt at interpreting games with rules as the "negative of operational processes" (Piaget, J. 1972) becomes awkward and unconvincing.

The internal incoherence of the scientific knowledge about play places each new research attempt in the position to choose between two alternatives: either to adopt one of the leading theoretical systems or to set its own theoretical and methodological framework. As the critical consciousness about the existing theories of play and the manners of its study increases, it is very difficult to accept one theoretical system as one's own fundamental belief and the final framework for one's thought. The project "Anthologies of Traditional Games" must also try to articulate its theoretical and methodological standpoint. That would suppose the definition of one's conception of children and childhood and play, and using that as the point of reference, the formulation of questions, the construction of ways and means for the collection and analysis of games, and finally, the elaboration of a conception of revival of traditional games.

Another reason for the elaboration of an original theoretical and methodological framework is that OMEP has included such a project as "Anthologies of Traditional Games" in its work programme. Namely, the question would be: why should OMEP take on the task of collecting, analyzing and publishing collections of traditional games if such collections already exist in almost all its member-countries? This gesture could only make sense if the Project became a means of articulating the pressing problems of the growing up of little children in contemporary society, simultaneously providing a means which could, at least in one domain, help solve these problems. The characteristics of the domain of children's play in contemporary society are representative of the growing-up problems. The theoretical and methodological framework ought to make it possible to identify these problems and the processes constituting them. Thus,

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OMEP would acquire valuable material, which would serve as the foundation for its particular campaigns.

Finally, it is a rare opportunity to have one research project gathering experts from so many different countries, cultures and scietific disciplines. This opportunity opens up many various possibilities for collaboration. However, the success of this collaboration depends to a great extent on how far we succeed in the very beginning in reaching a conceptual consensus. The much-propagated team work in scientific endeavour can bear fruit only if the collaborators on a given project do not represent a mere physical group, but set up an intellectual unity. This, in its turn, is possible if they are motivated by the same problems, concerned with the same questions, if they unify their point of view and the direction of their thought. That is why it is of immense importance to thoroughly examine the theoretical and methodological framework of the project "Anthologies of Traditional Games" right at the beginning of the work on it.

2. The conceptions about children and play in studies of traditional games

The studies and collections of traditional games can be classified and analyzed according to different criteria.

At the present, I have selected an approach which I believed would bring us closer to the problems which are important for the project "Anthologies of Traditional Games".

Just as the study of folklore is "led by one problem... which gathers and unites the others", (Cocchiara, G. 1985), that being the problem of defining the concepts "people" and "folk creations", the study of games is led by certain **views on children and childhood, play and playing.** These openly expoun- ded viewpoints most often rest on a covert philosophy of childhood and play (or "ideology", as rather term- ed by B. Sutton-Smith and D. Kelly-Byrne). This implicit philosophy is more general and more fundamental than the publicly professed scientific approach, as it forms a part of the dominant viewpoint and permeates both everyday conceptions and scientific theories. It is this kind of philosophy that is leading and misleading in our attempts to understand children and their play. That is why I believed that **an analysis of the concepts about children and play** would bring forth the theoretical and methodological problems which are important for the project "Anthologies of Traditional Games".

Using this criterion, we can roughly divide the studies about traditional games into **two groups**, marked by the predominance of one of **two ways of conceptualization of children and play:**

1- The first special way of conceptualizing children and play can be found in **ethnological** studies, which include the earliest works on traditional games (Tylor, A. Gomme, E. Fournier, F.M. Bohme, T. Djordjević, etc.).

It should be stressed at once that the early researchers in traditional games were not so much interested in children, as were they motivated by the belief that the history of civilization "could not be written without a chapter on games and toys" (Cocchiara, G. 1985).

For these researchers, traditional games represent the rudiments of anscient customs, cults and rituals, they are the "extension" (Cocchiara, G. 1985), the "reminiscence", for they "keep in themselves the traces of deep antiquity and show something of things that were gone" (Djordjević, T. 1907). Following this hypothesis, the early studies of traditional games were rich in analyses of the origin of particular games, in attempts to determine the relatedness, analogies and hidden meanings of games.

Children appear as the holders and transmitters of traditional games. They are not the subject of study, but the concept which helps to explain the fact that traditional games have survived for centuries and are similar throughout the world.

Trying to solve this problem, the early researchers had conceptualized children as a **timeless and society-free category** in which the universal human

nature is materialized in a simple and sincere way. Just as the primitive people have not discovered civilization yet, children have not yet been introduced to it. The equality of nature of these two categories is expressed in the same, simple cultural forms. And just as all the forms are in the foundation of all civilization, conserved and repeated in childhood they serve as the first stepping-stone in the development of human activity and spirit (Djordjević, T. 1907).

Among the **contemporary ethnological studies** of traditional games, the work of I. and P. Opie (Opie, I. and Opie, P. 1979) is in the lead. That is why it can be taken to represent a tendency in the study of traditional games and play in general.

The Opies are vehement and seemingly justified in their critisism of treating traditional games as "archeological relics" (Opie, I. and Opie, P. 1979). Play is a "living organism" and their research is therefore, directed at the **traditional games which live in the children's everyday,** and which constitute, together with children's verbal creations, a **single children's folklore,** which is an integral part of the actual **social life of the children.**

Developing this idea, the Opies view children as a special "people", separate and contrary to the adult society, while children's folklore is viewed as an alternative culture in which the children can express all that is forbidden them or that they have to suppress in the adult world. The Opies support this assertion by citing the difference in the manner of playing and behavior of children in the street and on the playground; while play flourishes in the street and the children act "highly civilized" (Opie, I. and Opie, P. 1979), the playground denies all possibility for play and the children become aggressive and brutal. In their company, children are capable of **social self-regulation.** The rules for this self-regulation are contained in games and so, play is the **legislation** of the children's society and behavior within it. Beside the brilliant analysis of traditional games, the idea about play as the **system regulating the social life of** children is the **most** fruit-

ful theoretical supposition offered by the Opies' study.

The ideas developed by the Opies about children and play most often remain merely a conceptual shell for the research procedure itself. Using the method de- veloped in earlier ethnological studies, the Opies investigate the origin of traditional games within the domain of children's play, without studying this domain itself. So, instead of giving a theory of the actual and complete domain of children's play, the Opies construct theoretical assumptions based on a **contemporary version of childern and play as universal categories**. As opposed to the adults and independantly of social conditions, children are supposed to be by their nature human, creative, imaginative, and self-sufficient, and play is the only form of free expression of these qualities. This conceptual framework was not subjected to scientific control, although the Opies had material at their disposal which demanded to be articulated and included as a constitutive element of play in general, and in spite of anthropological findings which proved childhood and play to be socially relative phenomena (Whitnig, Sutton-Smith, Elkonin, Mead, etc.). This manner of dealing with children and play transforms them into **metaphors for all those human potentials which contemporary man feels are deprived of.**

2- The second group of works on traditional games is constituted by collections and studies of a pedagogic character. These are collections of traditional games selected and presented in a form suitable for educational use, while there has been a recent increase in the literature on games constructed according to the model-structure of traditional games, and are destined to be used in certain school subjects or in the realization of certain educational tasks at various phases of children's development (Avedon, E. and Sutton-Smith, B. 1971).

These works treat play as something that exists regardlessly of the social background and independantly of experience and life problems of the children. Play is conceptualized as an **educational medium,** it is instrumentalized. On the other side, children are understood as the subjects of education, as more or less raw human material which can be molded according to the set educational goals and the favorable developmental achievements, in an unmediated and direct way.

With time, the reasons for play to be included in the educational process were forgotten (Elschenbroich, D. 1980; Sutton-Smith, B. and Kelly-Byrne, D. 1983). A conception was gradually developed that play posseses an educational function in the narrow pedagogic sense, that it can develop directly physical skills, cognitive abilities, language skills, etc. This conception is being only recently scientifically assessed, and so far, only one hypothesis was confirmed, that play enables "a better atmosphere to be created in school... and students are more interested in simulated activities than in conventional classroom exercises" (Avedon, E. and Sutton-Smith, B. 1971).

The conception that it is possible to instrumentalize play for pedagogic purposes was supported by the psychogenetic theories of play, which studied its function in relation to the extrapolated psychological processes in the child's development.

The functional investigations of play using the model of abstract individual development did not take play in its integrity, so that some of its important characteristics were left totally out of scientific consideration (Sutton-Smith, B. and Kelly-Byrne, D.)

Doubting that play can be legitimately educationalized does not mean that we deny it has an extremely important and irreplaceable role in the development and bringing up of children. It only means that we are posing the question about the essence of this role. Numerous studies of development in the evolution and history of humankind (Bruner, J. 1976; Reynolds, P. 1976; Fagen, R. 1982) demonstrate that play belongs among the most significant phenomena which represent a conditio sine qua non for the development of youngsters, especially human children, in species which are no longer determined exclusively by a genetic code. According to these findings, it seems that play has a particular role in organizing the communal life of young animals and children, as well as in the support and stimulation of flexibility in adopting the various patterns of behaviour.

Regardless of the extent to which these two implicit philosophies of childhood and play seem to be different and contradictory, they have the same conceptual and methodological outcome. Neither takes into consideration that history and the social order are constituent elements both of childhood and play, and at a deeper level they are both impregnated by the civilizational processes into the ideology of childhood and play.

3. Children's play in a historical-social perspective

Children's play in contemporary society finds itself between reality and mistification. While children are playing less and less and the conditions for play are getting worse, in the conceptions about childhood play is being transformed into the center of sentimental fantasy about creative human nature and a free, happy, fulfilled childhood. In order to cut through the underbrush of contradictions which surrounds children's play, it is neccessary to study this phenomenon soberly and demistify play as a metaphor.

In our times, play no longer belongs equally to children and adults. While the life of adults is almost entirely determined by abstract productive work, play is segragated into the limits of childhood. In the existing state of affairs, it means that it is supressed to the margins of life and is actually treated as infantile.

This also appears in more recent studies of children and play as historical-social phenomena (Aries, P.; Sutton-Smith, B.; Elschenbroich, D.; Zeher, H.; Rabe-Kleber, U. etc.). I shall try to sketch out children's play in the preschool institution and in free space.

The institutionalization of the education of little children has significantly altered the conditions for playing. Firstly, it has separated the living and playing quarters, so that the natural and intimate ambience necessary for play is substituted by the official one, which is experienced by most little children as some sort of "working place".

The preschool institution is a very specific, artificially created social environment; as a rule, it is poor in social stimulation, because it decreases the possibility for children to communicate with various adult persons and to be the witnesses and participants of interpersonal happenings; the children stay in too large age-wise homogeneous groups, which are a chance conglomeration of children; with the adults within the institution, the children most often interact officially as a "preschooler" and "teacher", and very rarely as two close persons who share the same experience and have similar motives.

In this social environment, children's play is hindered by a number of structural elements in the educational process, very exactly analyzed by D. Elschenbroich (Elschenbroich, D., 1980). The so-called "free play" is supressed into a "non-productive period", it takes place in a highly functionalized and severely type-cast space (the common room, the special play-corners, the outdoors playground), it mostly uses industrially produced toys, it is excluded from certain taboo places (bathrooms, kitchens, halls, cellars, attics), and it is forbidden in the situations which provoke "cute playfulness", such as meals, walks and afrernoon naps.

Play is commonly favored as a part of the educational process, and is included in the so-called "occupations". Only, the question is how much this actually is play? Playful educational activities are most certainly favorable forms and methods of learning, because they allow the children to be active, spontaneous in the process of learning, interested in what they are learning, to have a two-way interaction with their teacher, and to realize a meaningful mutual communication. However, play is not an intellectual activity, although it includes cognitive processes and affects them (Vigotski, L. 1971). It belongs to another sphere of life (which will be discussed further on). The inclusion of play and other similar activities (expressive, investigative, constructive, creative, etc.) into one concept creates considerable confusion both in theory and in the educational practice (Sutton-Smith, B. and Kelly--Byrne, D. 1983).

Play is particularly significant in establishing the children's true social life. However, children's society and sociability, as a matter of utmost importance in development, has no place in the pedagogic eye. Preschool institutions are becoming progressively more obssessed with education (instead of bringing up), with the development of cognitive functions and the preparation of future good pupils. That is one of the reasons why children's play in preschool institutions is decaying and why traditional games have almost totally disappeared from it.

The play of children outside the institutions (in the family, in the street, in a free space, and in the playground) shows similar tendencies and traits. Studies about the conditions and play-forms of children (Opie, I. and Opie, P. 1979; Elschenbroich, D. 1980; Zeiher, H. 1983), as well as a research of traditional games conducted by students of Preschool Pedagogy on the territory of Serbia, show that the same processes which shape the play domain in institutions act upon children's play in free spaces and beyond adult control. We are witnessing the effects of increasing distance between the lives of children and adults, living and playing quarters are again separated, children play for decreasing amounts of time, playgrounds are highly functional with one--dimensional facilities (Zeiher, H. 1983), cheap commercial toys are predominant (Elschenbroich, D. 1980), and play is being progressively influenced by the mass media, which relates it in form, and particularly in content, to a fictional world (Héngst, H. 1981).

The transformed factors and conditions change the manner of playing itself, as well as the set of games included in it. Research shows that children who play together more rarely constitute a permanent play group, a "gang", and that play groups are becoming homogenized by age and sex. Numerous traditional games are disappearing off the repertoire, and play is becoming more monotonous. It is particularly symptomatic that the symbolic elements of play are disappearing or are becoming stereotyped, so that play becomes progressively cruder. Elly Bašić (Bašić, E. 1971) has determined in one territory that numerous metric and rhythmic structures have disappeared from counting rhymes within the span of 25 years; tha data gathered by our students suggest that ceremonial procedures are disappearing from certain games, for example, the "divination" pronounced in some games. Symbolism is a very important matter in human relationships in general, because it humanizes them and gives them meaning, while it gives play the necessary mysterious charm. According to research, traditional games are quickly disappearing, with quasi-games appearing with almost equal speed, especially among city children, these quasi-games being full of destructive potential, lots of crude motor activity, and increased aggresion between the children themselves.

What are the problems of the growing-up of contemporary children which are pointed out by this state of affairs in the sphere of children's play? This will be easier to see and understand in the comparison between play today and play as it once was.

Since Aries' work "The Child and Family Life Under the Old Regime" (Aries, P. 1973) had become exceedingly influential, a series of contributions to the history of childhood appeared, with detailed information about the manner of playing and the significance of play in the life of people before the modern times. But works from other fields, such as the "Process of Civilization" by N. Elias (Elias, N. 1939) or the brilliant work by M. Bahtin (Bahtin, M. 1978) "The Creativity of Francois Rabelais and the Folk Culture of the Middle Ages and the Renessaince", are also rich sources of information about the total play domain in earlier ages.

In the old ages, play had equally belonged both to children and adults. For both, it represented an important segment of life. Just as the children were included directly in many forms of adult life, they also participated in adults' festivities, passtimes and games. However, the children also had their own separate sphere of play, which was populated and dominated by numerous traditional games. Playing most commonly took place in public places, in a free space, without the participation and control of adults, in age- and sex-wise heterogeneous groups of children. And, as can be deduced from the evidence about that time, a rich and dynamic social life of the children took place through these games. Which sphere of existance did play belong to, and what was its meaning for adults and children?

According to Bahtin's analyses, which are confirmed by the findings of authors in totally different territories (Aries, P. 1973; Elschenbroich, D. 1980), play belonged to a "folk, carnival, laughing culture" (Bahtin, M. 1978). It belonged in the same order with mysteries, foolery, farce, divination, prophecy, travesties, gorging and all other corporal enjoyments. The folk laughing culture was the incarnation of the "material-corporal", sensual aspect of life, it established a "gay, light relativity", it freed from "all religious and eclesiastic dogmàtism, mysticism and awe...", and was raised to the level of a philosophy about the world. It "turned the dark eschatology of the Middle Ages" into a "gay scarecrow" (Bahtin, M. 1978).

Play was the "most forceful element" of the laughing culture. It was in games that the peculiar view about the world found the most condensed and liveliest expression. The games were not marely a simulation of the cults, rituals, customs, current events and everyday human relationships. They were "condensed formulas of life", miniature models of the whims of human fate and history: birth-death, happiness-sorrow, gain-loss, enthronement-abdication. The unpredictability and tragedy of human life were brought down to the human scale through these games, they were transmitted into a "merry time", and people were enabled to deal with them. Play was a social phenomenon participated in by all, and it was only much later that "it lost its universal bonds and was transformed, by entering into individual lives..." (Bahtin, M. 1978).

Which processes have brought about the essential changes in the character and social function of play, and transformed it to the children's play we know today?

The productional-social and civilizational processes which have given form to the modern industrial society and the bourgeois social order have likewise constituted contemporary childhood and play as an attribute of the former. Two processes played a particularly important role in this:

a) **the segregation of children in a separate social group** (Aries); and b) **the pedagogization of childhood and the instrumentalization of play** (Elschenbroich, D. 1980).

Segregation divided the children, separated them from adult life, significantly transformed their relationships, constituted the children as a separate social groupation, and affected the institutialization of development and education. Together with the children, play was also segragated, to become children's work. Both children and play are suppressed to the margins of a productional and rational society.

On the other hand, the modern way of production, the new social relationships and forms of life demanded deep transformation in the character of people. The industrial-technical manner and organization of production need an instrumentalized man: industrious, efficient, devoted to his profession, active, mobile, and with initiative. It certainly cannot be a creature of uncontrolled physical impulses, overly sensual and overflowing with emotion. The civilizational processes have acted in the direction of forming the "new man": through the instrumentalization of the physical-sensual-emotional sphere, an increase in the "threshold of nausea" (Elias, N. 1939) as an internal barrier, and the liberation and molding of the productive and rational properties of man (Elias, N. 1939; Elschenbroich, D. 1980). Civilization has its achievements and its price.

The separated position of children in the society and the civilizational tendencies have borne a new sensibility directed at children and the understanding of childhood (Aries, P. 1979).

As children throughout history have shared the fate of the adults, so in the process of civilization childhood became pedagogized (Elschenbroich, D. 1980). When pedagogues entered children's institutions and even the nuclear family, they saw their basic task as the creation of the new man. The educational papers from those times tell of the material and psychological means and educational measures applied to children in order to suppress or destroy the physical-sensual-emotional sphere and establish the disciplined, productive and rational properties of the personality (Rutschky, K. 1980; Gstettner, P. 1980; Elschenbroich, D. 1980).

Play, banned at the beginning of the modern ages as a vice and the "devil's work" (Aries, P. 1979), was introduced into educational institutions by philanthropists (Bezedov, Kampo, etc.) in the attempt to make these places pleasanter for the children and as an educational medium as well. It was the philanthropists who elaborated the first play pedagogy (Elschenbroich, D. 1980). However, in order to rehabilitate play and make it useful in education, and with most sincere intentions, they placed play under the same principles which supported the idea about the new man, under a new value and normative system. This entire process of the pedagogization of play was experienced and argued to be progressive, and beginning with the first attempts of the philanthropists to the present day, entire systems of the educational employment of play arose.

The problem of growing-up of children in contemporary society ensue from the fact that the social background of development, the social interaction of children with adults and social transaction between the children is seriously threatened.

Numerous studies in various wakes of science have determined that sociability is an important condition for the development of offspring in those species which are not entirely biologically determined. Sociability is as absolutely necessary for children's development as nutrition, care, and all the other factors satisfying vital needs. That this is so is confirmed by the fact that children are, so to speak, genetically predetermined for social interaction (Ivić, I. 1978). For, children are not given the human nature in its entirety. They must discover it in the social and cultural systems which safeguard and represent the historically shaped properties of man, and they must interiorize it. "The inorganic body of man" is mediated to the children in their interaction with adults. What will be mediated and how the child will incorporate this into his personality will depend on the character of this interaction, the nature and variety of social transactions available to the child. Play has a special and significant role in the interaction of children and adults. It transfers this interaction from reality to a fictional field, in which it is transformed into flexible mutual transaction (Bruner, J. 1983). Through it, the forms of behavior which are to be adopted are personalized, and one's own internal world is simultaneously brought into the social communication. Both these significant elements which constitute the personality are symbolized and raised to a level of meaning in play. In developnment, which runs from the mutual permeation of the child and the social environment to the separate and integrated personality, play is closely related to the constitution of subjectivity.

The interactive relationships with peers represent a special type of sociability, a separate factor in the development of children. As was stated earlier, play is a means of **self-regulation in the children's social life** (Opie, I. and Opie, P. 1979).

However, we must pose the question: why is it at all important for children to form their own society, and to play in their own company beyond the control of adults?

Numerous studies provoke the assumption that independent mutual communication belongs to the important conditions and forms of growing up in many species, while in the human species it is a dominant condition in this process (Bruner, J. 1976; Reynolds, P. 1976; Fagen, R. 1982).

If it weren't for the general misconception, both in science and in everyday thought, that development flows from the individual to the society, and not vice versa, due attention would have already been given to the fact that the **social life of children beyond adult control** is a very important link in the development of both the society and the individual, and that it cannot be extinguished without repercussions. For, each new generation has yet to constitute itself as such. As children belong to a flexible species, a species actualized in history, they cannot simply replicate the sociability of elder generations. They must actualize their **own type of society and sociability**, which is to happen on the course on which they are only about to actualize themselves as individuals. Play is the most significant form of actualizing and regulating this sociability in childhood.

If we take both Opies' works ("Children's Games in the Street and the Playground" and "Language and Lore of Schoolchildren") as one whole - and they did result from the same research - we see that play is today, just like long ago, **a part of the laughing culture**, only exiled into the limits of contemporary childhood. Here, again, play is in the order of jargon, mocking, rhymes against divination, foolery, tricks, riddles, parodies, nick-names, unusual customs, competing with fate. Here too, it forms part of a conception of the world, a "joking-serious" commentary of the world in which the children grow up. It is certainly not a mere replication of the adult world.

Research on younglings of primates show that play is the framework, belonging to generational groups, in which "social" novelties of particular evolutional significance are created (Reynolds, P. 1976). In the human species, each generation of children changes old games and folklore, also creating their own, specific new ones; thus using the old and the new, each generation weaves its own social cloth, the interwinings of mutual relationships, and the patterns of understanding and sensibility. In the children's society, play is the form in which that sensibility and potential is liberated and molded which will hence play an important role in new social and cultural achievements. When it comes of age, a new generation does not simply enter its epoch by joining in the existing adult world, but by conquering it with a new social being, which has arisen in its greatest part from the games and folklore of childhood.

Children's play, in its own way, is in the foundation of social and cultural history.

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In the elaboration of the here expounded theoretical and methodological framework, I was not led by the nostalgia for the "good old times". Neither was I mislead by the delusion that children were happier once than they are now. Human happiness is most perilous matter, and children are just as happy as adults are. A "happy childhood" cannot be inserted in a world which is not made to the measure of human happiness, and we are persuaded about this by the entire history of humankind.

I understand this theoretical and methodological framework as a heuristic medium. It seems that it allows us to pose fruitful questions about children and play in contemporary society within its framework; that it brings to focus the factors which constitute both childhood and play; that it brings us to reality and does not lead us into vague distances. We need all this urgently for the project of "Anthologies of Traditional Games", in order that we might find the methods for finding information about particular games, the manner and conditions of playing, and that the collected material allow us to reflect realistically about our intentions and goals.

Perhaps the suggested theoretical and methodological framework is too "europeanized". Relating it, I was reassured by the fact that the whole world is headed more or less the same way. Today's societies differ by tradition, the existing social relations and culture, but the tendencies in development are similar everywhere.

Writing this paper, I did not relativize the ideas expressed in it; I did not use a single "but". I wanted the problems painted in clear contours and bright colors, aware of the risk I was taking on myself.

In any case, the expounded theoretical and methodological framework is only an invitation to discussion, and in no way is it a decree for realization.

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TRADITION IN ACTION - APPLIED SPORT HISTORY: THE FLEMISH FOLK GAMES FILE

Among the sports practised in Flanders - the Dutch speaking part of Belgium - the so-called traditional **folk games** lead a somewhat sheltered life, and fortunately many of them have been preserved intact up to this day. It seems that these ancient folk games survived in the regions least affected by the drastic **sociocultural changes** of the Reformation and early industrialisation. In sport-historical literature a great deal of attention has been paid to the controversial part played in England and America by the Puritans who abolished old folk games which indirectly led to the emergence of modern sports (cf. the relevant contributions by among others: Brailsford 1969: 122-143, Jable 1974, 1976, Renson 1975, Rühl 1974, 1978, Schneider 1968, Struna 1977, Wagner 1976).

The **ethno-nationalistic identity** factor has also played a role in conserving certain game traditions, especially where ethnic or linguistic minorities are concerned. In Europe, this certainly seems the case in regions like the Basque country, Brittany, Friesland, Ireland, Scotland and Switzerland, where some of these games have been elevated to the status of nationalist symbols. This 'traditionalist' renascence points to a renewed interest in popular recreations and pastimes of the 'good old days' (Renson 1984).

Marginal history

As to research methodology, the investigator of traditional folk life is confronted with the subject-matter's **marginal character**. In the main, he has to rely on iconographic material, where the folk games appear only as '**images in the margins**', as for example in illustrated Gothic manuscripts (Randall 1966). Among the rather scarce written sources relating to traditional physical activities, pride of place must go to the many **game prohibiting decrees**, delivered over the ages, but once again their position is marginal (Renson 1980). The researcher may resort to some regional ethnological publications, but here, too, limitations are evident. For example, many folklore contributions on game forms share the characteristic that they limit themselves to a mere descriptive reproduction of the games - text without context -; while others confine each game to a too narrow 'parochial' context (see in this connection Sutton-Smith 1976).

Deprived of material from original sources, the folk sport historian is compelled to go back to square one and assume the same role as the first field anthropologists, like Franz Boas (1858-1942) and Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), who started investigating the cultures of unlettered peoples by **participant observation techniques**. This standard anthropological approach was applied four centuries ago by the Flemish painter Pieter Bruegel (1525-1569). He regularly took to the countryside in the company of his friend Hans Franckert in order to study his subjects by participant observation in loco. Bruegel's contemporary Carel van Mander (1548-1606) bore witness to the following story on Pieter Bruegel in his famous '**Schilderboeck**' (Painter's book) of 1604:

> In the company of this Franckert, Bruegel quite often went into the countryside at the occasion of a village festival: they went to a marriage ceremony dressed in peasant clothes and they brought presents, pretending to be alternatively with the bride or with the groom's party. Here Bruegel found his joy in watching the farmer's spirit erupt in eating, drinking, dancing, hopping, courting and other delights, which he was able to reproduce afterwards in his funny, arch paintings (van Mander 1604: 233-234).

Bruegel even portrayed himself in this role of his famous painting 'A peasant marriage', where he is seated at the corner of a banqueting table, seemingly interviewing one of his informants. Pieter Bruegel can be considered without any hesitation as the 'avant la lettre' prototype of modern game anthropologist.

The preceding recount is given as an overview and as an introduction to the insite purpose of this paper, namely, a detailed discussion of present research problems and the development of the Flemish Folk Games File.

The Development of the Flemish Folk Games File (F.F.G.F.)

The Flemish Folk Games File (F.F.G.F.) was established at the Institute of Physical Education of the K.U. Leuven during the academic year 1973-74. The file took the form of a research survey in which as much documentation as possible on games and sports was gathered. The information was then classified per Flemish municipality. The aim of the project was to promote a more active student participation in the course on the History of Physical Education (given by R. Renson). Students were assigned the task of making a documented study on the history, the orga- nization and the meaning of a folk game in their native municipality. Students were asked to become initiated in their investigational milieu and to get to know the nature of particular folk games through participant observation.

As an aid for their research, students were given a manual with methodological guidelines. After an initial stage of reticence and threshold fright - as many of the P.E.-students proved unacquainted with these aspects of sport culture - the reactions grew very positive both as to the students' engagement and as to the research results. Some P.E.-students revealed themselves as real game and sports archeologists. As a result of thirteen years of data collection, a number of sports that had never been heard

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of, or had supposedly died out, were brought to light.

The data thus gathered, brought conceptual as well as clerical problems. Of these, the definition of the notion 'folk game' and the construction of a typology will be elaborated upon in this paper (see also Renson & Smulders 1978, 1979, 1981). In order to obtain a survey of the available data, the first step was to check the frequency of the available dossiers in the F.F.G.F. per province, by turving (see Table I).

TABLE I : SUBDIVISION OF THE FLEMISH FOLK GAMES FILE PER PROVINCE AND PER MUNICIPALITY (ANNO 1985)

PROVINCE	N. OF MUNICIPALITIES PER PROVINCE	N. OF MUNICIPALITIES FILED	N. OF DOSSIERS FILED
WEST FLANDERS	249	92	204
EAST FLANDERS	298	81	142
ANTWERP	153	117	299
BRABANT (FLEMISH)	255	106	193
LIMBURG	212	94	219
TOTAL (FLANDERS)	1167	490	1057

This survey however cannot aspire to completeness as it has been distilled out of already existing files, and is thus limited per se. Nevertheless, we are convinced that we possess a fairly true-to-life image of what exists, or existed, as folk games in Flanders. Apart from the files themselves, a bibliographical collection has been started with all available historical and folkloric contributions on folk games in Flanders. Furthermore systematic searches on the spatial distribution of particular types of folk games have been undertaken, which have been compiled in the doctoral thesis by Smulders (1982).

The relatively small number of municipalities covered in the provinces of occidental and oriental Flanders, can be explained partly by the geographical situation of the K.U.Leuven. As the dossiers are compiled by P.E.-students and as prospective P.E.-students from East and West Flanders have a choice of universities closer to home than the K.U.Leuven, these two provinces are slightly underrepresented.

Definition of the Concept of Folk Games

Defining the notion of a fokl game is central to this investigation. The two basic criteria applied to interpret the notion of a folk **game** were: 1) there had to be a distinction present between **sport** (see Renson 1973) and **folk games**; and, 2) a dividing line had to be drawn, implying that one activity was a folk game whereas another was not. Starting from empirical research data on the one hand and from certain literary data on the other (Roberts e.a. 1959, Arlott 1975) the following tentative definition of folk games was put forward:

> **Folk games are traditional, local, active games of a recreational character, requiring specific physical skills, strategy or chance, or a combination of these three** (Renson & Smulders 1978).

This circumscription necessitates some elucidation :

A. In this case, by **local-traditional** is meant that a certain game must have a Flemish historical-cultural background. This historical-cultural character is substantiated chiefly by archive documents, literary sources and iconographical material. The turn-of-the-century (1900) was taken arbitrarily as the chronological limit, because thenceforth, British games (or if one prefers, modern sports) were systematically imported and adopted in the country. Moreover, in order to fill the definition, a game had to be an **active game** of a recreational character. By active is meant: active participation (playing yourself); passive participation as a viewer is thus excluded. Furthermore the term **game** presupposes that it is a **recreational activity**, which is characterised by 1) organized play, 2) competition, 3) two or more sides, 4) criteria for determining the winner and 5) agreed rules. Other recreational activities which do not satisfy these requirements are considered 'amusements' (Roberts e.a. 1959). These criteria, of a more or less universal character, are restricted to a specific (Flemish) context, by the previously mentioned condition of local-geographical tradition.

B. The three elements: physical skill, strategy and chance do not generally emerge separately, but in relation. Even after limiting the field of folk games according to the criteria, defined above, not all doubts are wiped away. A number of 'borderline games' still require a nominal decision as to whether they fall into the category of folk games or not. The following physical activities and amusements are for example not accepted as folk games: folk dancing, theatre, dressage, apiculture, etc...

Construction of a Folk Games Typology and Retrieval System

Starting from the previously given definition of folk games and taking into account the available dossiers, a typology was constructed. An image of the diversity among the folk games practised in Flanders was obtained by means of turving. It immediately proved feasible to categorise the collected games into several main headings. Starting from formal-structural characteristics, distinguished within the main headings, a number of specific subdivisions were made. The newly obtained subheadings were similarly broken down until the smallest, yet practical unit per main heading was identified (Renson & Smulders 1978, 1979).

Finally, it was intended to devise a classification system that would later be operational for the study of modern sports and children's games. In this perspective the latter created a great number of difficulties, and it was decided to give children's games a separate main heading. Folk games that were practised only at festivals or fairs, were accommodated under the main heading **'Children's and festival games'**. Quite often these games were only practised by grown-ups on special occasions, the latter participating in quasi-ritual forms of amusement. In the end a final typology was distilled. This typology is shown in Table II, which gives only the main headings and sub-headings (see also Chart I).

Construction of a childern's game typology

The need was felt to differentiate the children's games further into subheadings, analogous to the classification of the overall typology. In order to develop a specific children's games typology, an extensive study of the appropriate literature was undertaken in four languages: Dutch (Flanders and Holland), English, French and German. First, an inventory was made of the different criteria used to classify children's games. Then, through a comparative content analysis the 39 criteria identified were reduced to 23. Finally these were brought back to three overarching categories situated on a continuum, that ranges from 'formal' over 'structural' to 'functional' aspects of children's games. Because of the correlation observed between the language groups on the one hand and the formal-structural-functional categories on the other, three representative typologies were selected: 1. the Renson-Smulders (1978) folk games typology, representing the formal category and the Dutch language, 2. the Roberts e.a. (1959) typology of games, representing the structural category and the English language and 3. the Chateau (1947) typology, representing the functional category and the French language. In order to test the validity and the viability of these three typologies, a sample of 75 traditional children's games in Flanders was drawn and subsequently an attempt was made to fit each of these games in the three selected typologies. The Renson-Smulders typology (see Chart I) proved to be the most viable one because most of the games could be fitted in it and because a balanced distribution over the main headings was obtained. However, some minor adaptations and re-arrangements were required in order to obtain a satisfactory solution. This adapted typology is presented in its final form in Table III and Chart II.).

From investigation to active promotion

From the start of the Flemish Folk Games File, the aims of the project were threefold:

1. to involve students actively in the problems and methods of the cultural study of games
2. to study the sociocultural functions of games in society, both in their historical evolution and in their present status
3. to investigate the practical applications of these traditional games in order to enrich to present day recreation scene. In order to reach the latter pedagogical goal, a first **folk games workshop** was organized in May 1977, during which a great variety of folk **games** were constructed and tested as to their applicability in schools and playgrounds, recreation clubs, senior citizens groups etc. In 1978 folk games were for the first time adopted and actively promoted within the Sports for All-campaign in Flanders. One year later, in 1979, a grand exhibition on '**Folk games and traditional children's games**' was set up in the Flemish Open Air Museum in Bokrijk at the occasion of the International Year of the Child. At the same time, a permanent **folk game route** was established in the museum in order to initiate and to stimulate the active participation of the visitors. The success of these and many other similar playful manifestations led to the foundation of the **Flemish Folk Games Central** in 1980. This organisation consists of a trinity of closely collaborating institutions: 1. researchers and recreation specialists from the Leuven Institute of Physical Education; 2. folklore specialists from the Bokrijk Air Museum and 3. sports administrators.

and policy makers from the Flemish Governmental Sports Department (BLOSO). United, these 'playmates' actualized the nationwide '**Year of the folk games in Flanders**'-campaign from July 1981 till September 1982 (Renson 1983). As a result of this campaign and its ongoing followup, one can say that folk games are no longer historical rarities or folkloristic curiosa, but have become part and parcel of the present day recreation scene in Flanders (Schwartz 1983).

Conclusions

Just like the 'back to the roots' waves in folk music and folk dance, the promotion campaign of traditional sports and games, can both **preserve** our cultural play heritage on the one hand and **revitalize** modern sport and recreation on the other hand.

However, instead of '**creative anachronism**', we would like to qualify our approach as '**diachronic creativity**'. The latter consists of a return to the roots of play forms, not for the sake of the past but for the enrichment of the present day quality of play life !

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TABLE II: TYPOLOGY OF FOLK GAMES IN FLANDERS
(Renson & Smulders 1978, 1979, 1981)

MAIN HEADINGS	SUBHEADINGS
1. BALL GAMES	1. Handball games
	2. Bat-and-ball games
	3. Football
	4. Others...
2. BOWLING GAMES	1. Bowls
	2. Pins
	3. Bat-and-bowl
	4. Others...
3. ANIMAL GAMES	1. Baiting
	2. Fights and competitions
	3. Trapping games
	4. Others...
4. SHOOTING GAMES	1. Longbow
	2. Cross-bow
	3. Ball-bow
	4. Culverin
	5. Rifle
	6. Others...
5. FIGHTING GAMES	1. Fencing & tilting
	2. Wrestling
	3. Others...
6. LOCOMOTION GAMES	1. Without device (Swimming...)
	2. With device (Sand-yachting, skating...)
	3. Others...
7. THROWING GAMES	1. Discs, coins
	2. 'Struifvogel'
	3. Darts
	4. Sticks
	5. Others...
8. PARTY GAMES	1. Board games
	2. Table games
	3. Parlour games
	4. Others...
9. CHILDERN'S GAMES & FESTIVAL GAMES	

TABLE III:TYPOLOGY FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF CHILDREN'S GAMES

(De Clerq 1980, Smulders e.a. 1982)

MAIN HEADINGS	SUBHEADINGS
1. BALL GAMES	1. With hands
	2. With bat
	3. With feet
	4. Others...
2. BOWLING GAMES	1. Marbles
	2. Bowls
	3. Others...
3. THROWING GAMES	A. Without propelling artefact:
	1. Coins, discs
	2. Knives
	3. Sticks
	4. Others...
	B. With propelling artefact:
	1. Bow
	2. Gun
	3. Spin-tops
	4. Others...
4. LOCOMOTION GAMES	A. Without device:
	1. Running
	2. Jumping
	3. Hopping
	4. Others...
	B. With device:
	1. Skating
	2. Stilts
	3. Others...
5. FORMATION GAMES	1. Circle
	2. Row
	3. Others...
6. PARTY GAMES	1. Board (checkers, nine men's morris)
	2. Table (cards ...)
	3. Parlour
	4. Others...
7. FIGHTING GAMES	1. Interindividual
	2. Between groups
	3. Others...
8. ANIMAL GAMES	1. Baiting
	2. Fights and competitions between animals
	3. Trapping games
	4. Others...

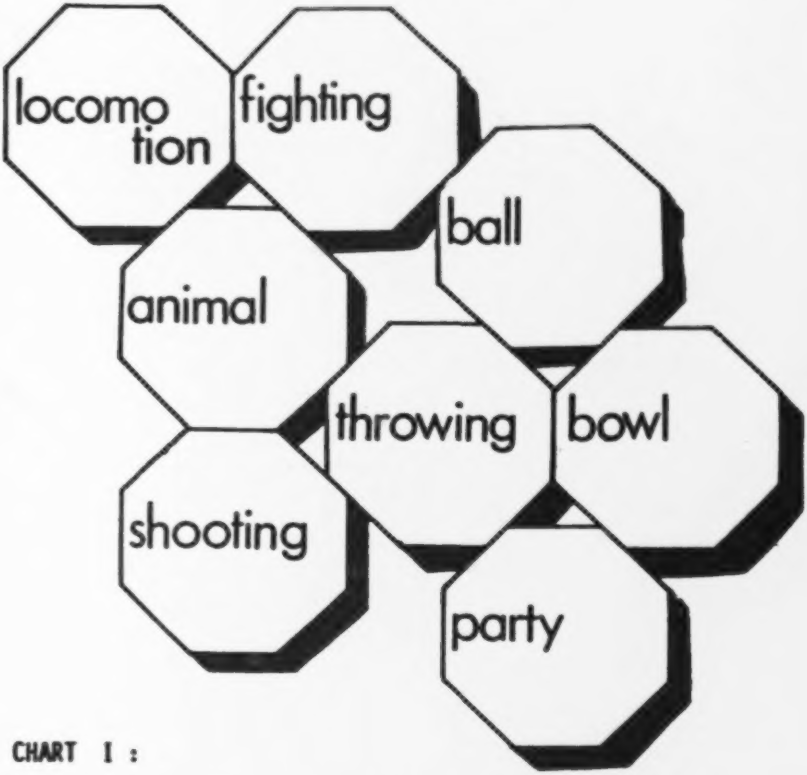
locomotion
fighting
ball
animal
throwing
bowl
shooting
party

CHART I :

'DICE-BOX MODEL' OF THE TYPOLOGY OF FOLK GAMES IN FLANDERS

(RENSON & SMULDERS 1978, 1979, 1981)

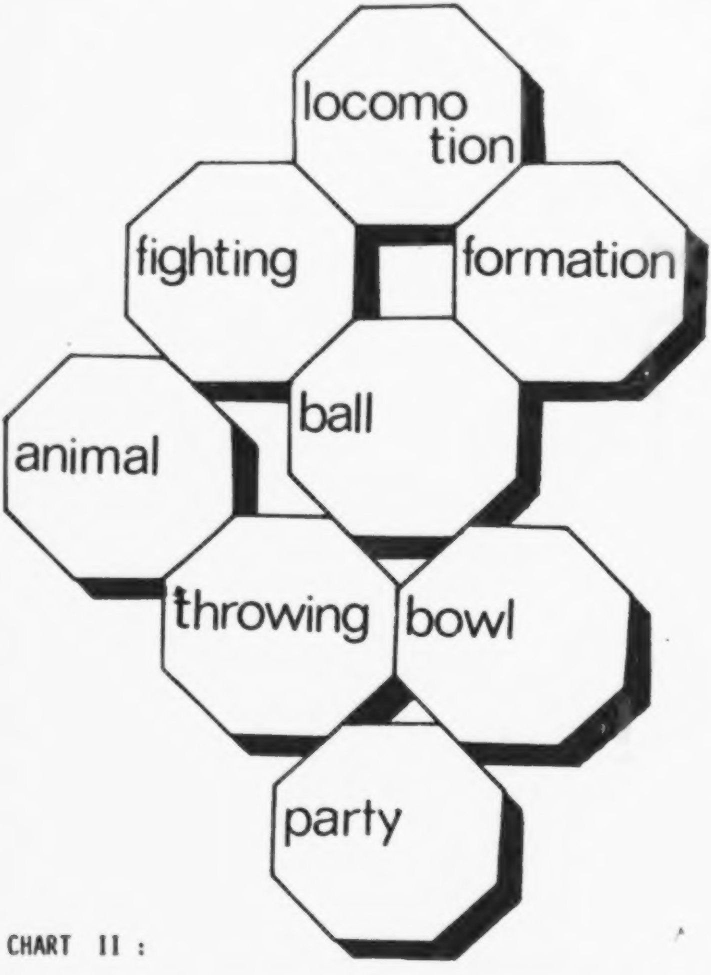
locomo
tion
fighting
formation
ball
animal
throwing
bowl
party

CHART II :

'DICE-BOX MODEL' OF THE TYPOLOGY OF CHILDREN'S GAMES IN FLANDERS (DE CLERCK 1980 ; SMULDERS E.A. 1982)

Ivan Ivić

EXPERIENCES OF THE RESEARCH SO FAR DONE ON TRADITIONAL CHILDREN'S GAMES

> This report does not have the character of a general overview of the experiences so far obtained, but is written for the needs of the "Belgrade-OMEP Project on Traditional Children's Games": it represents a part of the preparations for field-work on the collection of games and is to serve as a cause for discussion between the participants in the Project coming from different countries.

The reflection of several years about the meaning of an international project of collecting traditional children's games, the acquaintance with literature in this field, and preliminary research in various parts of Yugoslavia allow us to define the phenomenon of traditional children's games, on one side, and to reflect on some practical problems of such an international endeavour,[1] on the other.

1. Traditional children's games: does their collection and revival make sense

1.1. Following the ideas of M. Bahtin (Bahtin, 1978), we believed that, in order to understand traditional children's games, we need to view them as a special form of the folk culture. Bahtin defines the folk culture primarily as opposed to the written, official and formalized culture. The foundation of every culture, including thus understood folk culture, is formed by the basic conceptions about the **world, life and man.**

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[1] In our work so far, we have benefitted greatly from a visit by Professor Brian Sutton-Smith (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA), who spent two weeks at the Institute of Psychology in Belgrade in November, 1984. During that visit, we have had ample opportunity to discuss the problems related to our Project. Professor Sutton-Smith's experience in research, which he unselfishly conveyed to us, was of considerable help.

Contrary to the analytic and discoursive nature of the official culture, the folk culture is characterized by a **synthetic nature** and unity. (Talking about one form of this culture, Bahtin says: "... it allows the various to be united and the far away to become near, it helps to liberate from the dominant conception of the world, from every relativity, from banal truths, from everything ordinary, known, generally accepted, it allows the world to be seen in a new way, the interconnection of everything that exists and the possibility of an entirely new world order to be felt" - Bahtin, 1978, p.43). This holds for the philosophy embodied in the folk culture as a whole. Time in such a philosophy is cyclic, life and death are not absolute antipods, but touch in the continuous process of disappearance and renewal.

Man is understood together with his physical and sensual nature, and there are no mediators between man and the physical reality: man is firmly rooted in nature, and there are no barriers or distance between men. The basic activity of such a man is practical. Therefore, there is no division between participators and spectators in the folk culture (e.g., in festivals, carnivals, rituals, etc.), everyone participates actively in cultural happenings. Implicit knowledge, practical and life skills are therefore the basic components of this culture (as opposed to abstract schemes of knowledge and the body of systematized information of the official written culture).

Children's folklore is doubtlessly, both by origin and by nature, an integral part of the so defined folk culture. That is why it bears all the essential characteristics of the folk culture. Basically, folklore, which has originated in a long history and taken as a whole, is a manifestation of the natural richness of the child's being: its physical, corporal, motor, sensory, intellectual, emotional, and social potential. As the expression of the child's potentials, children's folklore is in its nature most often **a form of art**. The implications of this fact are very important for the understanding of children's folklore and its application in education (they exclude literal interpretation, simplified pedagogization, etc.).

Traditional (or folk) children's games dealt with by the Belgrade-OMEP Project, are, of course, only one kind of children's folklore and the popular culture in general.

1.2. Because of their nature and heterogeneity, it is quite difficult to give a **definition of the concept of traditional children's games.** Instead of attempting a strict logical definition of traditional children's games as a form of the folk culture on the basis of serious theoretical considerations, we shall undertake here a more modest task: we shall try to state some initial defining properties of those categories of traditional children's games which we are going to collect in different countries. Finally, an operational definition, which is going to help us to collect approximately the same forms of children's folklore in the different countries, is expected to ensue from an intercultural discussion of the participants in the Project. For the meaning of the sintagm "traditional children's games" is not the same in every culture. So, we open the question: what is "traditional" (and is it synonimous to "folklore", what is "children's", and what is "game"? Instead of attempting to find a formal-logical definition, which is not appropriate to this case, we have tried to define the kind of children's folklore which we shall be collecting in our Project in the following manners: a) using opposition (traditional vs. modern games, children's vs. adult games), b) using negative definition (we shall not collect children's songs, formalized sport games, folk dances for children, etc.), c) citing positive examples of categories of games and individual games, d) a long list of broader and narrower categories of games which interest us, as well as those belonging to borderline categories, so that in discussion we could decide together which of these categories we shall collect and which not. The entire procedure of the gradual identification of the categories of games which interest us is given in Appendix 1. Here, we shall only give a summarized description, rather than a definiton, of the kinds of games we suggest be collected in the field-work. We would, therefore, like to make as complete as possible an inventory of **children's games with rules which are a part of the folk culture (and not institutionalized and organized amusements and free time), in which the child actively employs his physical, motor, sensory, intellectual, emotional and social abilities.** Such a definition excludes the pure forms of adult play, modern games, folk and other creations for children in which they are not, however, active but are rather listeners or spectators; this also excludes the pure forms of folk dances from the children's musical folklore and pure categories of children's sport (in order to avoid misunderstanding, take note of the fine points of Appendix 1).

1.3. Even so reduced, the category of children's traditional games is very rich and varied. This is evidenced by the anthologies of such games so far published (both new and old) and all the preliminary inventories of games published in the preparatory phases of the Project. The richness of these games is already evident in their number. Thus Opie and Opie (1969) have an index of 2500 games (and their varieties), Sutton-Smith recorded (1972) more than 300 games in New Zealand, and Renson (1981), recording games of a narrower group than defined here in various parts of Flanders, obtained 95-233 protocols of different games, or 806 protocols in total; in older published collections of games in Yugoslavia, we found 300-400 games, the preliminary incomplete inventories done in Yugoslavia on smaller territories (one or several villages) regularly yield more than 100 games, etc.

The wealth and variety of traditional children's games is reflected in the number of categories of these games. As an illustration, we shall list only some of the categories: bouncing games, clapping games, walking games, counting rhymes, tongue-twisters, mocking rhymes, riddles, funny rhymes, chasing games, catching games, hiding games, duelling games, games of competition, jumping games, games of wit, of expression, strength, agility, chance, humor, disguising, daring, kissing, games for expressing sympathy, etc.

From the previous list and unsystematic ennumeration, one can discern the **psychological richness** of these games: all cognitive, conative, and affective psychological functions are expressed in them. For the purposes of our project, the **developmental heterogeneity** of these games is equally important: there are those meant for preverbal children, and those for adolescents.

It is particularly important for an international and intercultural Project, as this is, that all the collections of games so far published in different countries show that, beside the games which are universal, there is **cultural variety**: every culture has some kinds of games which are specifically its own.[2] This variety of games in different countries, which will be stressed with the compilation of complete anthologies in a number of countries, will serve as an excellent basis for intercultural exchange.

1.4. The facts cited about the richness and variety of traditional children's games evoke the complex theoretical problem concerning the **classification of games**. The analysis of the nature of these games and the elaboration of a system for their classification are important and indispensable tasks, both for the understanding of their nature and for the consideration about a possible revival of traditional games and their employment in the education of contemporary children.[3]

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[2] For a confirmation of this fact, see UNICEF's "Jeux du mond" (Editions LIED, Geneve, 1979), or UNESCO's publication "L'enfant et le jeu", Etudes et documents, No. 34, Paris, 1979.

[3] At this meeting, D. Baron (Canada) will give us a review of the systems of classification of games, and present the Quebecois model of game analysis.

As is known, systems of classification of children's games already exist. However, for the needs of our Project, it will be necessary to make a selection of these systems, adapt them to the needs of the Project, as well as to elaborate certain specific systems of classification. The problems of classification of traditional games will be solved methodically in later phases of the Project, because their solution depends on the body of empirically gathered games, which is particularly important when we are dealing with games from different cultures.

However, it is already necessary to begin our joint effort at thinking about the problems of classification of the collected games. It seems inevitable for these classifications to be multiple, deduced on the basis of different criteria, while each of them in a unique way discovers the nature and, hence, the possible ways of application of traditional children's games.

The following will serve as criteria for classification:

- the **content of games** (chasing, seeking, hunting, games, etc., as in the book by Opie and Opie, 1969);
- the **psychological functions employed in the game** (games of motor and intellectual skill, games of humor and social interaction, games of perception, memory or speech, etc.);
- **social functions of games** (games primarily stimulating social integration, or social differentiation and individualization[*]; games of cooperation vs. games of competition, etc.);
- **psycho-developmental criteria** (i.e., a classification derived from the developmental stage of the psychological functions employed in the game, as, for example, sensorimotor, pre-operational, concrete-operational games, according to Piaget's theory; developmental classification derived from other theories of psychological development are also possible);

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[*] See I. Ivić (1982).

- the structure of games as a criterion for classification opens complex problems, but also allows various classifications of children's games; some existing systems, such as those in which games are divided into games of skill vs. games of chance, or games of competition, duelling, vs. games of cooperation and expression, etc., are very fruitful, but must be supplemented by other classifications based on the structure of games, such as classifications based on the presence of symbolic components or the type and nature of symbolic systems employed, or classifications based on the nature of the dramatic turns of the game (peripethy-climax-resolution), or some sort of composition and/or game rethoric, etc.

1.5. The collection of anthologies of traditional children's games opens up complex problems of the revival of this form of folk culture and its introduction into the lives of contemporary children. How much sense does such an endeavour make, and what are the risks of deforming the nature of the games?

Of course, the problem of the revival of traditional children's games is only a special aspect of the broader problem concerning the attitude toward cultural tradition. Therefore, it is possible to consider the experiences of the revival attempts of other forms of folk culture. As is well known, such attempts at revival can bring about a total loss of meaning of once meaningful cultural form, as, for example, when organized tourist attractions are supposed to revive some ancient rituals. The deformation here consists in the imitation of the outward aspects of the ritual, without understanding its essence and its relatedness to the lives of the people from previous ages.

On the other hand, the revivals are sometimes extremely successful (e.g., folk dance and song). A successful revival generally takes two forms: either the original form is used, or there is a successful artistic transformation which possesses elements of modernization, but preserves the spirit of the old cultural creation.

In the attempt to revive traditional children's games, the basic problem is also in that these games were closely interknit with the lives of the adults and the children at the time when they came into being, as well as with the ecological conditions in which they took place (e.g., great open country areas or city squares with no traffic, etc.). Besides, in revival, the mechanism of survival and transmission of games changes drastically. Traditional transmission rested on an almost Darwinian principle of natural selection: what was an unsuccessful creation just disappeared. Shifting to the preservation of traditional children's games in written documents (anthologies, etc.) and to their dissemination through books and institutions (schools, kindergartens, etc.), these selective mechanisms disappear.

The critical reappraisal of traditional children's games, based in part on the analyses we have mentioned in the previous section, would be the basic method of avoiding the possible deformations in revival. For, it is certain that among traditional games there are meaningless to contemporary children because they were too much a reflection of the life in earlier historical epochs; some games cannot be revived because there are no conditions for that in terms of space; some games are such in their nature that they are in profound contradiction with the contemporary conceptions of many cultures (e.g., extremely aggressive games, games which segregate the sexes in a pronounced way, etc.).

However, traditional children's games have qualities which are capable of satisfying to a great extent the developmental needs of contemporary children. Their huge value is in that they hold rich possibilities for the stimulation of various activities in children: physical, motor, sensory, social, affective, intellectual, linguistic...

The potential of these games to evoke various activities in children is particularly important for children in contemporary conditions of life: these games with lots of motor activity are a true therapy for adynamia (a deficit in motion), which afflicts many city children, while games involving the body and the senses (vertigo games, tickling games, touching games, kissing games, etc.) are good therapy for the excessive intellectualization of most activities in school-type children's institutions; group games (both games of competition and cooperation, and games of expression) are helpful in overcoming the social isolation of masses of contemporary children.

Therefore, it is possible to find a healthy basis for the introduction of traditional children's games into the lives of contemporary children. In many cases, all that is necessary is to preserve the original form of the game (as a successful example, we may cite a collection of games of interaction between mother and infant).[8] At times, it will be necessary to enter certain transformations and reinterpretations into the games (i.e., aggresive games which were once preparation for batle can be transformed into games of full motor involvement, etc.).

Therefore, if the nature of traditional games is understood properly, their revival is possible and can also contain transformation and adaptation to contemporary conditions (changed ecological conditions, different play materials, transfer into other media, etc.), under the condition that the basic meaning of the game is presreved, as well as their property of eliciting various children's activities.

One of the basic social and social-psychological problems in the future (which has begun in some countries already) will be that of free time (due to the development of technology, robotization, etc.). It seems to us that all ludique experience of the people from various cultures will be necessary for the solution of this problem by giving meaning to people's lives. Traditional children's games are a part of this ludique heritage of mankind and, therefore, their preservation gains additional meaning.

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[8] "Children's Games", Children's Media Laboratory, Child Study Unit, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi.

1.6. The pedagogization of play i.e., the use of *traditional children's games in a purely scholastic manner* is most certainly a form of deformation of these games. Still, we believe that it makes sense to speak of the educational use of these games, and not only of their revival. The basic justification for such an employment of traditional games is in that they are growth prompting activities in a real sense. As such, these games do contain educational goals, contents, methods and means, and in the form of anthologies represent a readily applicable instrument for direct work with children for the educators.

Anthologies of traditional children's games, when used for educational purposes (by parents, teachers, educators, in work with migrant children, etc.), belong to the educational instruments which can be used to develop non-institutional, alternate forms of education which is deeply related to the local and national cultural tradition.

*

Summarizing the experiences of the research so far done on traditional children's games, we can confidently say that the **endeavour of collecting these games is fully justified.**

When an inventory of these games is made in a number of countries according to a uniform methodology, it will be possible to make regional, national, international, and thematic anthologies of games, which will be anthologies destined for use by children of all ages. These anthologies would be a real treasury of the ludique experience of mankind.

Beside the anthologies, other forms of revival of traditional children's games will also be possible thanks to the collection of games: the formation of centers (some sort of live museums) in which traditional games and toys will be used in a thoughtful way; numerous games will be transformed into new electronic media (video and computer games inspired by traditional games, which would enrich the repertoire of games); numerous traditional games with the play materials can be produced commercially using new materials and new technologies, etc.

2. Practical problems of the Project

This section of the paper refers to practical problems of the project which will be discussed at an international meeting which should result in a working agreement about the collection of traditional games in all the countries collaborating on the Project.

2.1. Sources of information in the collection of games are the following: bibliographic research. adults and children as informers, and the observation of children.

It would be most rational to begin with bibliographic research, i.e., with collection of books and magazines, mostly from earlier dates, which already have many games published. Experience tells us that the sources of this kind are numerous. A particular value of these sources, especially those of early dates, in that one can find in them already forgotten games and can reconstruct the history of some games in a given culture. Their misgiving, on the other hand, is that they often do not hold all the necessary information. Therefore, it will be necessary to get additional information from informers.

Children and adults appear as informers. Our experience shows that elderly people (the grandparent generation) is generally a richer source than younger people, and that a richer repretoire of games can be found in village and small-town settings where there haven't been any sudden changes (e.g., due to industrialization). Also, in every country, certain cultures and social groups are better at safekeeping traditional children's games than others; it seems that female informers are better than male ones; that certain professional groups (preschool and school-teachers, sports professionals, workers in areas of children's culture, etc.) are more prone to safekeep and collect children's games on their own.

By observing children in various conditions, we can obtain a considerably smaller number of games. However, this source is valuable, as it shows which games have spontaneously survived, and these are, as a rule, the culturally, psychologically and educationally more valuable games. Besides, playing practice is better to demonstrate the nature of a game then the description of its rules (e.g., the same game, when played by boys and girls, has a variously aggressive character, etc.).

2.2. Collectors

The proffesions which have so far been the most involved in collecting games were: folklorists, ethnologists, anthropologists, ethno-musicologists, pedagogues, psychologists, teachers, and preschool educators. It is wise, therefore, to engage these same professions in our Project, as they have the due motivation. Also, we should depend a great deal on students who are preparing for the teaching professions. It would be sufficient if they would make an inventory of the games in their respective birth--places.

2.3. The organization of the research

The following institutions may appear as organizers of the research: National Committees of the OMEP, teachers' faculties and academies, professional societies (folklorists, ethnologists, psychologists, etc.), centers for the research of folklore and tradition, research institutions, etc.

2.4. The recording of games

In the documents prepared for the Conference there is a protocol for the collection of games, in two forms (made by A. Marjanović). This protocol, after being discussed and finally shaped, should serve for the verbal discriptions of the games.

In the recording of games, it will also be necessary to make sketches (e.g., of toys, play-spaces, etc.), photographs (of toys, playgrounds, key moments in the game), an auditory recording if possible (especially for the registration of the rhythmic-

-musical components of the game), a video or film recording (of the course of the game); whenever possible, samples of the original playing material ought to be collected.

It is very useful to make a card-file of the collected games (in the form of catalogue, bibliographic, or computer sheets) in order to have an easier overview and classification of games.

APPENDIX 1

This appendix has the sole purpose to serve as a basis for the discussion about the categories of games which will be collected in the Project.

1. Play and non-play behavior

Is it possible to clearly differentiate play from non-play forms of behavior in various cultures?

2. Adult play and children's play

This Project will focus on children's own games; games will be collected which have been independantly and on their own initiative elaborated by children. Therefore, play as an autonomous childhood activity is in the focus.

However, in many cultures and certain situations, is it possible to differentiate children's play and adult play?

It is absolutely certain that such a differentiation is not possible at an early age (3-4 years).

Therefore, our Project should also include games of interaction between adults and children of young ages, such as bouncing games, clapping games, tickling games, etc. As an example, we may cite the Indian collection "Children's Games".

3. Other forms of children's folklore and traditional children's games

Cultural creations for children, such as fairy tales, fables, folk-tales, etc., are outside the scope of our Project.

Children's folk-songs in their pure form do not belong to the category of traditional children's games which we are collecting in this Project. Naturally, numerous traditional children's games have a rhythmic-musical component (counting rhymes or chants as part of a more complex game, etc.), and in these cases, they will be registrated.

It is similar with children's sport games. Pure forms of formalized and institutionalized sport games (soccer, etc.) do not belong to the category of games collected in this Project. However, the category of games we are collecting does include competing games with motoric components (all games of skill and deftness, etc.) which are traditional (old) and have not been transformad into modern forms of sport games.

4. Games with rules and symbolic games

At the focus of our project we basically have games with rules (from the most simple ones such as clapping games, to those with very complex implicit rules). Symbolic games (in the sense of improvised symbolic games) do not belong to the circle of collected games. However, many games with rules contain elements of symbolic games (masks, disguise, role--playing, symbolic gestures, etc.), and such complex games with rules which contain symbolic components do enter the category of collected games.

5. In summary

We would, therefore, like to make as complete an inventory as possible of children's games with rules which form a part of the folk culture (and not institutionalized and organized amusements and free time) in which the child actively engages all his physical, motor, sensory, intellectual, emotional and social abilities.

6. In order to facilitate the definition of the categories of games which we are collecting in this Project, we give here a list of traditional games (which has no ambition to be a logical classification) which may be registered. In this manner, we may come to some sort of definition by ennumeration of the categories of play or individual games.

We suggest that the list include the following games (or even some games not on this list, which are **borderline cases**):

bouncing games
clapping games
tickling games
mocking rhymes
ennumerating rhymes
tongue-twisters
counting-out rhymes
riddles
conundrems
puns
tales which never end
circular tales
tongue-sticking games
tangletald
daring games
bets
dialogue games
seeking games
hiding games
guessing games
kissing games
love games
games of control (no movement of laughing allowed)
finger, hand and toe games
games of elimination
chasing games
singing games
nonsense rhymes
improper games
duelling games
games of intimidation
games of expression
disguising games
competing games
games of cooperation
games of chance
games of wit
games of humor

games of agility (physical, motor, perceptive, linguistic, intellectual)
games of perception
games of memory
language games
games of communication
games of interaction

etc.

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Ivan Ivić

THE PLAY ACTIVITIES OF CHILDREN IN DIFFERRENT CULTURES:
The universal Aspects and the Cultural Peculiarities

> A plea for an international endeavor of preparing anthologies of the games of different peoples.

This report has been conceived as a departure point for the consideration, inside the OMEP, of the ways to be taken in the collection, selection, revalorization, reinterpretation, and finally, the publication of the traditional games of various peoples, as well as in their educational application in contemporary conditions.

The following general idea had motivated the project on game anthologies: every people (social or cultural group), every ethnic group, possesses a wealth of experience in the matters of education.

It is fair to say that a great part of each culture is devoted to children: the literature for children, both oral and written (tales, etc.), children's dances and songs, as well as the educational practices transmitted from one generation to another, the general knowledge (usually in the form of practical knowhow) pertaining to the bringing up of children, etc. ...

Traditional games (mostly games of rule), the practice and knowledge of games, generally form an integral part of a culture. However, this cultural heritage isn't recorded,[1] and is in a real danger of disappearing or weakening.

This state of affairs brings a task for the OMEP, which would fit quite well into its general mission: to inspire the member countries, on one side, and other international organizations (UNESCO, UNICEF, ICCP), on the other, to an international endeavor which would consist in the collection, analysis, and publication of anthologies of games.[a]

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[1] Very few countries are implementing this record, at least partly. See: Sutton-Smith, B. (1972), for New Zealand, and Opie, I. & Opie, P. (1972), for Great Britain.

Having in mind the scope of this project, it would be necessary to seriously consider its significance before actually undertaking it. In our opinion, there are sufficient reasons to motivate such an undertaking, wereof we shall mention only the most fundamental:

1) the safeguard of an important component of every culture;

2) the publication of game anthologies could demonstrate the wealth of all the culture, and could serve as a point of departure for an international exchange which every cultural group could participate in equally;

3) the publication of game inventories (followed by pedagogic commentaries) would provide educators with a new means of education, precious and useful in the affirmation of the cultural identity of the child; etc.

The general characteristics of traditional games

In the general literature of play (Huizinga, Caillois, etc.), definitions of the **Homo ludens** can be found, the distinctive characteristics of play, and typologies of games - perticularly the one formulated by R. Caillois (1958).

The authors belonging to the school of psychoanalysis (Erikson, Hartley, M. Klein) have partly clarified the functions of play in relation to the individual (catharsis, the expression and the control of pulsions, etc.).

For our purpose, the psycho-genetic studies are more important (Piaget, Chateau, Vigotsky, Elkonine).

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[a] This idea came to beeing inside the OMEP some years ago. Following UNESCO's project which resulted in the publication, The Child and Play, (Etudes et documents d'education, no. 34, UNESCO, 1979), OMEP's project **Anthology of games** could be considered as the sequel and extension of the UNESCO's publication.

These studies have elucidated the origin, the genesis of play, and its function in ontogenesis. They have also resulted in the classification of games, which is extremely useful as an instrument in our work of collecting and analyzing games. According to these ontogenetic studies, the games of functional practice, symbolic games, and games of rule, all share common traits, have well defined developmental relationships, and have functions which are partly common, and partly specific.

In addition to the mentioned analyses, there are new ideas about play which open up fruitful and promising approaches. These new ideas come from general semiology and cultural anthropology.

In the first place, we're talking about a new interpretation of the characteristics of play as a distinct activity. At the outset, we shall define the semiotic status of play: play in itself definitely appears to us to be a **semiotic activity par excellence**, which employs iconic representation, simulacra, and symbols (non-arbitrary signs). The nature itself of play and of the significants utilized in play defines the crucial point in the relationship of play and reality. Play finds its place in the "area of play" (Toureh), in a privilaged space of socially created make-believe, which is the space in which the **Homo ludens** is expressed, as opposed to the **Homo faber**.

The traditional children's games (a great part of them being games of rule) share these general semiotic traits, but preserving notable specific characteristics. Piaget once said that these games "constitute admirable social institutions" (1932). Ontogenetically, these games have their **origin** in repetition, and in the ritualization of actions in functional games (Piaget, 1932), as well as, more directly, in a kind of symbolic play named dramatic (or socio--dramatic) play, in which the child, beginning from the age of 2 or 3, assumes the roles of different persons and tries to behave in accordance with these roles. Even here, therefore, there are rules which conduct the child's activities, as for example, when the child is playing mother who is taking care of her baby, it has to follow the norms and rules of maternal behavior.

This origin of development is analyzed in particular by Elkonine (1978). The double origin (the ritualization of the first functional practices, on the one side, and the assumption of roles in symbolical games, on the other) is also evident in traditional games of rule. Preserving the general characteristics of play activities, the traditional games could be classified into two large categories, according to semiotic criteria:

a) **the games of functional practice** (the practice or exercise can be sensory, motor, psychomotor, intellectual, language, social, etc.);

b) **games of rule, with an important semiotic component**, i.e., games which contain representations ("secondary realities"), symbols, masks, role-playing, mime and simulacra (both in one category, according to Caillois), symbolic objects, metaphorical and metonymical means, etc.

The function of traditional games

Traditional games in the two mentioned categories take place in the "area of play", which implies a necessary signalization (metasignalization) relating to play. Actually, from a semiotic point of view, child's play is in itself a message, reading: "We're children (and not adults), this is play (not activity in reality).".

Therefore, by the pragamtic analysis, i.e., the semiotic analysis of the functions of traditional games, we come to the conclusion that the games are a **form of communication** (inside the children's group, but also between the children's group and the adult society), a type of **social practice** the children partake in, and **a regulatory mechanism** for the social relationships inside the children's group, as well as between the children's group and the social community which the group is a part of.

The activity of play as a message (addressed primarily to adults) permits the children to enter the "area of play", depending on a repertory of means of metasignalization: the choice of places which are set aside for play, the use of toys, words and rites which announce the commencement of play, etc.

By entering the "area of play" (which is, we must insist once again, formed by the culture and the social group), the child gains greater liberty and independence; consequently, the "area of play" is the space of the child's true **praxis**, of his **social practice**. Furthermore, it is the true culture of children and youth (**the peer-culture**) which has irreplacable functions in development.

In general, there are two major functions to be fulfilled by traditional children's games, as far as these are the **regulating mechanisms** in social relations.[3] These two major functions, vital for the functioning and the preservation of every culture, are **social integration** (i.e., the assimilation of group members, the submission to rules, social norms, etc.) and **differentiation** (i.e., increasing distance between group members, the segregation of sub-groups, individualization, personalization, etc.).

The function of social integration fulfilled by the games of functional practice is obvious, as this practice is always the means of its effects, preparation for the participation in adult life.

Examples of this kind of preparation for social integration are the games of motor and mental skill, manual dexterity, motor and sensory precision, of wit, language capacities and communicative competence, logic, etc. Other examples are: following of rules by every person and the submission to the group; joint activities, which imply the coordination of individual actions (e.g., every separate team in games of competition has to have such coordination, based also on efficient communication); self-control, the control of the personal desires and impulses (the delay of satisfaction, etc.) which conflict with the rules of the game (e.g. the "Laughter-control Game");

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[3] Here we're following the ideas formulated by a Soviet author in relation to the semiotic analyses of rituals. An essay on the semiotic analysis of ritual, in Semiology and the Problems of Communication, The Armenian Academy of Sciences, Erevan, 1981.

the distribution of roles in a game (by counting off, or some kind of drawing) implies an egalitarian morale, which gives every group-member an equal chance and contributes to group cohesion.[4]

The function of differentiation is obvious in play activities. Play often functions as a true "institution of transgression" (therefore, as a security vent), as in the games of logical absurdity, the verbal games in which the meaning of words is twisted and their pronounciation deformed (e.g., the Yugoslav game of "Telephones in Disorder").[5]

Personalization is obvious in the games of practicing certain roles (the role of team-leader, the negative role which everyone tries to avoid in games, the winner or loser role in the games of competition, with the mastery of the feelings of triumph and defeat). The **segregation** of subgroups is obvious in the very phenomenon of child's play, which separates the children from the adults, in the separation of the boy's and girl's games, as well as in the games of rule which offer the possibility of choice based on the affection between the boys and the girls (as in the Yugoslav game "Now We See Who's in Love").

The semiotic analyses (semantic and pragmatic) suggest that in the phase of collection of the games it is necessary to pay attention to the data which uncovers the semiotic, social, and communicative aspects of play (the utilization of symbolic objects, masks, role-playing, magic words and interdictive words, symbolic gestures, etc.). In outlining the recorded games it is necessary to lean on the classifications of the implicit functions of games, such as we have briefly presented here, as analytical instruments of utmost importance.

The mentioned analyses permit us to uncover the **universal aspects** of traditional games (the "area of play", the general semiotic status of play as a means of communication, as social praxis, and as a regulatory mechanism), but also disclose the **cultural peculiarities**. The distance between play and reality isn't the same in all the cultures, and it is often difficult to distinguish play from practical activity. Peculiarities are evident in the extent to which objects (toys) are used, in the frequency of play in general, as well as in the respective frequency of the various games of functional exercise (motor games as compared to games of wit, sensory vs. intellectual games, games of skill vs. games of functional and affective pleasure, competitive vs. cooperative games, etc.). The differences are even greater with regard to the utilization of play as a regulating mechanism in social relationships: in some cultures, the accent in social regulation is placed upon social integration, while in others, it is the differentiation and individualization which are accentuated. Therefore, a catalogue of the games of different social and cultural communities could be used as an extremely productive instrument in the analysis of cultural peculiarities.

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[4] Similar ideas were disclosed by M. J. Sisgard (Denmark), in personal communication.

[5] We have based these analyses on the preliminary research on games in the various regions of Yugoslavia. We were helped in the research by Mrs. Duran, Hadjihuseinov and Mr. Vura.

The educational implementation of traditional games

From the point of view outlined here, educational implementation of traditional games would seem promising. It has been partly verfied in practice.* Naturally, educational implementation has to be preceded by consideration, analysis, and educational revalorization. A good time for such reflexion comes after the collection of these games.

Right at the beginning, we could formulate some preliminary remarks. It was not a nostalgia for the past which has motivated the project of game anthologies, but the certainty that each cultural tradition possesses a certain wisdom, as a mechanism of long-term selection underlies cultural acquisition, including children's games. As these aspects of culture are transmitted by tradition (without written documents), and as there was accelerated social change in the past century, there was a break in the transmission. Hence the necessity for the conscious safeguarding and reevaluation of tradition.

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* See the already mentioned document of the UNESCO, **The Child and Play**.

A reevaluation would also imply a departure from traditions. Where traditional games are concerned, for example, it would seem necessary to revise the very strict segregation between boys and girls, etc.

As to the positive aspects of traditional games, we felt it was justified to formulate the following hypotheses:

a) the play activities are in their very nature the basis of a pedagogy of play, which has to be preserved in contemporary education;

b) play as a component of the peer-culture, as the true social praxis, cannot be totally replaced by the scholastic education, where the child-adult relationships dominate;

c) traditional games could serve as the educational medium for the rennovation of such a pedagogy, based on the praxis of the children themselves, in the preschool institutions and the schools (e.g., one could employ the counting-off procedures in the distribution of roles and tasks inside the classroom), as well as in the street, the yard, nature-study classes, on vacation, etc.;

d) traditional games are an educational medium which bears the peculiarity of a culture, and is, consequently, very appropriate for the preservation of the cultural identity of the children, in the face of the uniformities of modern education (in their own countries, in the education of immigrant children, etc.);

e) some of the characteristics of traditional games (play as the social practice of children, the frequency of motor games, the employment of all the senses - not only sight and hearing, the frequent occasion for bodily contact in the traditional games, etc.) make these games suitable for guarding off, at least partially, the severe deprivations that the children suffer in urban surroundings: a lack of bodily contact, social contact, motor activity, etc. You may compare traditional games to video-games, in order to get an idea of the possibilities for the educational employment of the traditional games.

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Zorica Rajković

THE REMARKS OF AN ETHNOLOGIST CONCERNING THE PROJECT OF RESEARCH ON TRADITIONAL CHILDREN'S GAMES

The research, recording and publishing of traditional children's games is doubtlessly multiply useful. In our country, extensive systematic research projects with an elaborated theoretical-methodological approach are almost nonexistant, while that which is published is scattered among publications of local significance which are not readily available; the records differ one from another; and there are no representative overviews or selections from the territory of the entire country or the individual republics. The envisioned anthology (or anthologies) which is to be one of the results of the Project will be of lasting value as a document about the culture of previous times, i.e. one of its segments. From the ethnological point of view, several important questions concerning this Project need to be raised.

1. Which items are going to be contained in the anthology, i.e., what can be treated as a children's game? Of course, we are encountering here the complex problems of defining the concept, i.e. the syntagm, of **children's game**, as well as the problems of classification or at least the inventorying of all the relevant phenomena in the domain of children's play. In our profession, these phenomena are also described as **children's folklore**, the content of which was, perhaps unjustifiably, separated, recorded and studied regardlessly of the unity, i.e. the context of play; this used to happen with almost all forms of so-called verbal folklore (such as mocking rhymes, counting rhymes, riddles, songs), which were treated as phenomena of oral literature or as musical events. On the other hand, the approach that treats phenomena as a domain of children's folklore has enabled contemporary folklorists to deal with them as with communicational phenomena, within the general

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approach to folklore as an act of communication and its definition in the social context.[3]

2. A second important question is posed in relation to the concept of **tradition**, i.e. **the traditional**, a concept which seems to be unavoidable in the title of this Project, i.e. anthology. By designating the cultural phenomena which it deals with as **traditional**, our ethnology has, in a rather undecided manner, limited its interest to a time past, i.e. some older culture, which is generally retreating in the conflict with civilization and urbanization. Later on, our ethnology has turned to the modern day, especially to problems of cultural change, thus also spreading the research to urban area. The expressions **tradition** and **traditional** are still used as referring to the older, the inherited, the transmitted, but it is generally clear to the ethnologist that we're dealing with an unprecise notion of antiquity and that it is impossible to draw a clear limit between the traditional and the contemporary, the past and the present. Although we know that some of the phenomena in our culture are quite old, there are very few that we can date precisely, while the documents in use (I mean, primarily, published and unpublished records) are generally not older than a century (not counting archive materials, older travel journals, and similar sources). The village culture, which is discribed in most ethnological works, is the culture belonging to the past and the beginning of this century; the fact that some of its segments are of much earlier origin is a different issue. Consequently, this Project, i.e. the anthology, should

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[3] See the article: Bošković-Stulli, M. (1973). O pojmovima usmena i pučka književnost i njihovim nazivima (On the Concepts of Oral and Folk Literature and Their Names). Umjetnost riječi, 3, 149-184 and 4, 237-260. Especially on pp. 162- -164, see about the conception of folklore as an act of communication and about the definition of folklore in its social context, as well as Maja Bošković-Stulli's definition of folklore (the elaborated definition by Dan Ben-Amos): "Folklore is the artistic communication in a small group with the possibility of relating the told themes and forms in a series of small groups, thus creating tradition, extended in time and space."

include at least an unpretentious explanation of the term **traditional**, especially as today's field research hardly can cover data from the beginning of this century (and this Project also has field research in plan). Regretfully, this is not only a terminological problem (which would be easy to solve by an explanation of its meaning) but a more profound one: what is going to be considered traditional, and by which criteria, and what isn't? Is the generation to whose repertoire a phenomena belongs (e.g., to that of the grandparents) crucial, is belonging to the rural milieu going to be decisive, etc.? I will mention that such dilemmas do not appear at all in the extensive research done on children's folklore in some European countries (e.g., Poland, Germany, Finland), but it is generally accepted to study and record the entire repertoire of children's folklore (only its verbal aspects in places) which can be found at the time of the research, whether it is present among the children or only remembered by elder generations. In these works, there is no question of selecting and separating only the ancient, or traditional. Approaching the field work and other research on children's games in our country, it would be reasonable to decide whether it would make sense not to record everything that we have at our disposal today, ignoring the segment of living games, i.e. the repertoire of contemporary children. This is especially true considering that the repertoire of contemporary topics contained in children's games (the "new" therefore) is not so wide, so that its inclusion wouldn't extend the research too much. I would also argue for the recording and the inclusion in the anthology of the so-called verbal children's folklore, as I believe that playing with jestful rhymes, for example, belongs to a broader concept of play, while being characteristic for the children's world and particularly interesting as an expression of children's creativity. I will note that until now it was rare to record verbal material which is not "proper" (such as, for example, favorite children's topics about feces, jokes about parents, etc.), a phenomena we regularly find in contemporary records of European folklorists and collectors of children's games as typical children's products.

3. The third problem concerns the **application**, i.e. **applicability** of the collected material for educational and other purposes. That is, of course, primarily to be decided about by educationalists and psychologists, but I would mention that there are certain doubts in respect to this in the eye of the ethnologist. The world in which traditional children's games came into existance is significantly different from today's world; the games are a reflection of that world and the way of life in times past: their contents, terminology, the space and circumstances under which they were played cannot be transferred to the present. Of course, that does not apply to all games, and some could probably be offered to today's children, too, with certain explanations and adaptations. A more serious problem, however, is related to the fact that children's play fully lives only in the communication between children, only if children want it and need it. My humble experience based on a modest research conducted in Zagreb 7-8 years ago has led me to doubt the existence of a substantial possibility for the application of the playing tradition through a pedagogue and the sense of it all. Namely, it was shown that, in spite of excellent work by the educationalists who offered the children subject-matter from the older repertoire of children's games, the children received these passively and didn't use them in their free play. Simultaneously, the children had their own repertoire of games which included some of the same types, i.e. forms of games (e.g., counting rhymes, rhyme, songs combined with motion) - a repertoire they had not learnt in an organized manner, but had recieved from other children in oral and direct communication, generally through play. This communication was realized over several generations, meaning that the same or similar games are known to a series of generations (while we could lightly dub them "new"!). In particular children's groups, this repertoire wasn't particularly rich, but it functioned intensely, it was in use, and - importantly - the children created and

recreated it, i.e. they dealt with it actively and creatively. This very repertoire (in the case of my research) was unknown to the pedagogues, who failed to think of asking the children, when they needed a counting rhyme, for example, for the rhymes they knew and used in their spontaneous play uncontrolled by adults.

I received the impression that educationalists and psychologists are skeptical about the contemporary repertoire of children's games and consider it impoverished, the fact is that it does exist as it is, and that the children need it and we cannot ignore it. Certain similar contents of play are present among children today over a broad European territory (as can be seen in the literature), and are also known in our country, both in cities and village settings. A minor comparative research of some of these (such as songs accompanied by motion and elastic-band-jumping) has shown that the same repertoire is widely spread in our country, but there are significant local differences, variations, which bespeak a creative attitude toward the repertoire. The same song, for example, is almost unrecognizable in two different presentations; it is performed in a totally different manner by children in Zagreb, Teslić, Vis, Svetozarevo. The differences do not only appear in the manner of performance but also in the content and form, which means that these subjects exist as **models with local and individual variations**, show- ing that children are active and creative in relation to play.[2] This aspect is particularly interesting in further ethnological and folkloristic research, as well as the problems of the diffusion of this repertoire, the criteria for its acceptance or selection among several offered - but all this is not so important for our Project and this Conference.

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[2] These, as well as other mentioned results of the research, were published in the article: Današnji dječji folklor - istraživanje u Zagrebu (Children's Folklore of Today - A Research in Zagreb). *Narodna umjetnost*, *15*, 37-96. Zagreb 1978. The same work was published in the periodical *Umjetnost i dijete*, Vol. XII, No. 68, Zagreb 1980, pp. 3-65.

4. Finally, here are some practical notes. I don't know the possibilities for field work in this project, and the quality and kind of material ultimately at our disposal. Older records from the ethnological and other literature, as well as unpublished records should definitely be included. There are both of these kinds of data in Croatia; unpublished material can be found in the Committee for the Folk Life and Mores of the Yugoslav Academy of the Sciences and Arts, in the Ethnographical Museum, the Institute for the Research of Folklore in Zagreb, and in the possession of certain individuals.

I wish good luck to the Project of research on traditional children's games and its initiators, organizers and participants, and I thank you for the invitation to participate in this Conference.

Etsuko Nakamura

TRADITIONAL CHILDREN'S GAMES IN JAPAN

As we have problems similar to yours, we, the Japanese committee of the OMEP are very glad to hear of your proposal, and to join in on the discussion about the project of collecting and reviving traditional games in various countries.

Recently, especially after the Second World War, children's life styles and children's play have been changing rapidly. This change is generally summarized in the following 6 points:

1. Children have less playing time.
2. Children engage more in solitary play.
3. Children play with companions of the same age.
4. Children play in smaller groups.
5. Children play less outdoors.
6. Children engage less in creative play.

These tendencies are closely related to changes in our troubled society, such as: urbanization and motorization, a higher degree of education, a decline in the extended family and family functions, and sc on. These factors have a strong influence on children's lives. As traditional children's games are closely connected to the life styles of the children, it is a great challange for us to preserve traditional games in the modern society, especially since traditional games are handed down from older to younger generations and also involve things found out-doors. The tendency of children today to play only with the same age group and to play in-doors will make the challange greater. Another problem related to the revival of traditional games is a shortage of young adults who would play with the children, demonstrating how to play and how to make handmade toys.

Every year, I ask my 1st year students to fill in a questionnaire and write a short retrospective report on the games they played when they were children. They remember the names of the games they played and become excited when they share their memories.

"Oh, I played that game, it was great fun, but I forgot how to play it.". Or, they may remember some of the toys which grandpa or grandma, or some other person made and gave them, but they don't know how to make them, or where to get the necessary materials. Children today can get toys very easily in a store bot can't make them by themselves. Fortunately, many people have noticed the disappearence of traditional games and have started revival movements. I'll tell you about some of these activities afterwards. Before that, I'll tell you a little bit about the brief history of the research done on children's traditional games in Japan.

Japan, as you know, is a country with a long history and tradition. During the Edo period (from 1603 to 1868) under the policy of national isolation, the Edo culture flourished among the merchant class. At the beginning of the Meiji period, Japan opened to the outside world, and rapidly received Western culture and modern ideas. We call this period "the age of civilization". One of the greatest achievements of that time was the establishment of an educational system in which children were trained to be cultured. However, some people were troubled by the process of Westernization and tried to reestablish the traditional values or true Japanese way of thinking and way of life. In relation to the study of children's play, I'll mention here two great names: Saijiro Ohta and Kunio Yanagita.

Ohta wrote a book about children's play, mainly on traditional plays and games. Until that time, there had already existed a few books of children's folk songs containing the words of songs, but there were no books which described play activities and how children behaved. This book was published in 1901. In it, the author compiled games from all over Japan, recording them with illustrations intended for children. It was not an academic study but a very practical book which was easy to read.

Yanagita, who was noted for his leadership in the founding of the Japanese Folklore Society, wrote two famous books on children's play. His method was to use field research, such as observation, interviews and the comparative analyses of games. In his work, he wanted to describe the stages of development in children's play.

These are only two of the great forerunners in the study of children's traditional play.

Now I'd like to introduce some current research and revival activities. First I shall mention the field work going on in Japan.

There is research concentrated on particular areas, such as small villages, in which detailed interviews with people of all ages are done. The goal of this research is to study the process by which these games are handed down from generation to generation, as compared to other phenomena such as folk tales and customs.

Another type of field work consists in collecting children's games from various parts of the country. The aim of this work is to revise the classification of children's games in general, to include folk music. A chart of the classification is shown in the Appendix.

Finally, I would like to tell you about the current education of teachers in terms of curriculum and content. Fortunately, in the kindergartens teachers' department, we have the compulsory course called "Children's Culture" which is unique in the Japanese teaching curriculum. The main subject of this course is children's play and games and it covers various children's educational and play materials, such as toys, picture books, puppets, television, and so on. All students, thus, get a taste of children's play, its historical and educational aspects. To supplement the course, there are many publications and textbooks on children's play and games, including the traditional ones.

APPENDIX

CLASSIFICATION OF PLAY - University of Shimane Game Research seminar - February 1st 1984

EXPRESSIONS AND IMITATION	0	SONGS AND CHANTS	88 KINDS 591 EXAMPLES
	00	Songs and Chants	
	01	Certain expressions in chants or songs	
	02	Word games in chants or songs	
	03	Counting games in chants or songs	
	04	Word and counting games in chants	
	05	Teasing chants	
	06	Parody chants	
	07	Singing games	
	08	Word games	
	09	Imitation games	
	1	DRAWING PICTURES TO CHANTS	69 KIN. 664 EX.
	10	Drawing people using letters	
	11	Drawing people using shapes	
	12	Drawing people using letters and shapes	
	13	Drawing animals using letters	
	14	Drawing animals using shapes	
	15	Drawing animals using letters and shapes	
	16	Drawing things using letters	
	17	Drawing things using shapes	
	18	Drawing things using letters and shapes	
	19	Writing chinese characters to chants	

HAND PLAY AND GAMES	2 HAND PLAY AND GAMES 53 KINDS 1418 EXAMPLES
	20 Hand play
	21 Hand play to chants or songs
	22 Hand and body play
	23 Hand play with two people
	24 Hand play in a group
	25 Hand games
	26 Paper, scissors, rock (P.S.R.)
	27 P.S.R. variation (using children's words for P.S.R.)
	28 Motions to songs or chants
	29 P.S.R with other motions
	3 PAPER,SCISSORS,ROCK GAMES 68 KIN. 855 EX.
	30 Basic paper, scissors, rock (P.S.R.)
	31 P.S.R. using legs or arms
	32 P.S.R. using entire body
	33 P.S.R. to chants
	34 More complicated version of P.S.R. for determining the winner
	35 Using P.S.R. to pick teams
	36 P.S.R. with other motions
	37 P.S.R. games
	38 P.S.R variation (using children's words for P.S.R.)
	39 P.S.R. group competition for one winner

PLAYING WITH EQUIPMENT OR TOYS	4	GAMES WITH TOYS OR EQUIPMENT 34 KIN. 305 EX.
	40	Toys
	41	Tools
	42	Toys they make themselves
	43	Stone-throwing
	44	Bean bag balls
	45	Bean bag games to songs or chants
	46	Bouncing the ball
	47	Bouncing ball games in a group
	48	Moveable equipment (wagon, tricycle, etc.)
	49	Playground equipment
	5	JUMPING ROPE 49 KINDS 1101 EXAMPLES
	50	Jumping rope alone
	51	With two people
	52	Taking turns
	53	Jumping rope to songs or chants
	54	Using P.S.R. to pick who jumps first
	55	Jumping rope with motions
	56	Rope or string play (making a snake or cat's cradle)
	57	Moving a string of elastic bands wrapped around two people
	58	A version of 57 around the legs
	59	A version of 57 to chants

	6 USING NATURE	30 KINDS 121 EXAMPLES
	60 Playing with grass or flowers	
	61 Making things with grass or flowers	
	62 Making whistles and noise makers	
	63 Fortune telling with grass or flowers (she loves me, she loves me not)	
	64 Competitive games with grass or flowers (whishbone tug)	
	65 Making toys out of seeds, pinecones, nuts	
	66 Playing with small animals or insects	
OUTDOOR	67 Playing in the sand	
	68 Playing in the given environment (wall climbing)	
	69 Playing in the given natural environment (tree climbing)	
	7 USING BOUNDERIES	17 KINDS 371 EXAMPLES
	70 Making a maze or obstacle course	
	71 70 using strings to make bounderies	
	72 Using P.S.R. to make a picture line by line	
	73 Flicking flat marbles to gain territory	
PLAY	74 Kicking flat marbles (variation of 73)	
	75 Flicking stones (variation of 73)	
	76 Hopscotch-type games (drawing a "board" and throwing stones)	
	77 Hopscotch	
	78 Hopscotch in teams	
	79 Various hopscotch boards in the shape of things	

	8	USING THE BODY	34 KINDS 328 EXAMPLES
	80	Games using the legs	
	81	Games using the entire body	
	82	Games using the body to chants	
	83	Games using the body in a circle	
	84	Races and competition	
	85	Running races	
PHYSICAL	86	Competition with a ball	
	87	Baseball competition	
	88	Competition using playground equipment	
	89	Combinations of competition above	
	9	"IT" GAMES	67 KINDS 2415 EXAMPLES
	90	Picking an "it"	
	91	"It" games using a "safe" zone	
	92	"It" games using playground equipment	
	93	"It" role-playing (cops & robbers)	
EXCERCISE	94	Hide-and-seek	
	95	"It" must find hidden objects	
	96	Imitating the "it"	
	97	Preventing the "it" from breaking a boundary	
	98	London bridge	
	99	More than one "it" (become "it" when caught)	

IN TOTAL: 10 General classes, 100 Classes
507 Kinds, 8170 Examples

Kalle Justander

CHILDREN'S LORE AND TRADITIONAL GAMES IN FINLAND

Play is an integral part in child's development. By playing the child learns everyday chores, picks up behaviour patterns, and adopts roles. Through the ages, children's play has reflected their contemporary society: its culture, attitudes, knowledge and level of technology. From the pedagogical point of view on one hand, it has been emphasized that play is childrens's work. On the other hand, for the child participation in play or games is not goal-directed expansion of world picture, but playing simply because it is fun.

In Finland, research on play tradition is still quite young. The most outstanding investigations related to the field date from the past and present decade. **Lea Virtanen** has investigated the transmission of children's lore and traditions in peer groups. This survey has proved that the most effective way of transmitting children's traditions is by children to children, from the older child generation in the yard to the younger. **Bo Lönnqvist** has especially concentrated on determining the role of the playthings in children's tradition.

Children's tradition is very central in the socializing process of the child. It contains the keys to the membership of a play group. Verbal traditions (rhymes, jokes, ghost stories, etc.), games and established behaviour patterns strengthen the sense of togetherness of the playmates in the group. Peer group makes a strong impact on the emotional life of the child. It encourages his process of independization, widens his social outlook and helps to shape his self-image.

There are natural differences in the preservation of children's lore and traditions between the cities and the countryside. Rural children have better tradition-bound knowledge proper to the surrounding adults, like proverbs, knowledge of yearly customs etc., than the urban children. The children's mutual play culture may, however, be richer in the cities. The city yards with their many limitations lend themselves to cultivation of rule games, whereas in the countryside many play-like activities, like swimming, skiing down hillocks, playing with animals, are available and there children play more imagination and imitation games. There are also differences in games played at the school play-ground or at home yard. At home girls and boys may well play together, but at school it is almost unthinkable.

Finnish children's lore has a quite similar general setting as children's tradition elsewhere in Europe. Finland's geographical position as a bridgehead between the East and the West has contributed to its receiving cultural influences from various directions.

In recent times we have noticed signs that yard games have been disappearing. The parents may well teach them to the children, but when not being played in the yard, they are forgotten. Such interruption of play traditions is most typical to the new housing areas. There have also been signs of the reduction in the selection of games. The rule games especially have become fewer, which again may increase the possibilities of children behaving more violently.

In Finnish research games related to children's lore have been grouped as follows:

1. Games of catch

These games have different names, although the rules and way of playing are very similar. Game customs often have interesting connections to magical traditions and their expressions favour exotisms. It is the rule rather than the exception that the games of catch contain the teasing of the chaser. The one to be captured may either be hated or wanted: real efforts are made to capture him.

2. Games of hide-and-seek

Games of hide-and-seek are most popular group games in the yard, where simple hiding and seeking is made more complicated and exiting by different rules.

3. Play wars

Play wars normally do not contain any fighting or hunting each other. Principally they do not differ much from the games of catch or ball games.

4. Games of imagination

Games of imagination reflect the adult world. Boys generally play car games, cops and robbers or gangster games. The imagination games of the girls are completely different: they play home and do not like to take boys with, even as fathers, for in these games they simply are not needed.

5. Secret societies and play languages

The model of a secret society may be taken from a youth book or from television. The matters conveyed are not so important, the goal is to elevate the sense of community of the speakers by teasing others.

6. Collecting as a hobby

Collecting as a hobby belongs to the custom tradition, only the objects collected change. It gives a possibility to exchange objects collected and is thus an important form of social intercourse.

7. Pastime rhymes

Rhymes and nonsense poems are generally used to begin a game. It is said that "rhymes are more than playthings to children". They are a way of communication that enables mutual social intercourse. In addition to the opening rhymes, well-known songs and poems become popular in twisted forms. The purpose of the play rhymes is the pleasure by the phonetic play.

8. Questions, riddles and narrative tradition

These games may contain the embarrassing and kidding of the other person. In Finland riddles survived as the pastime for the adults until the beginning of this century. At present, the most skilled riddle--makers are children between 7 and 10 years of age. They ask each other riddles at any time, either to pass the time or to embarrass the other. Various jokes and ghost stories also belong to the narrative tradition.

The role of the playthings in the play tradition

Playthings have often been understood too narrowly: to be consciously made by adults for children. The playthings made by children themselves have not been considered in them at all. The cultural anthropological research emphasizes the spontaneity of children's world. The child has his own way independent of adults, to work up his surroundings and to adopt stimuli. Children play a lot without needing any special toy. In group games, as in hide-and-seek, for instance, even a scarf is sufficient for starting the game. Flexibility is typical to "natural" play and game, free from patronizing adults. The meaning and the task of the playthings changes infinitely.

The essence of toy culture had hardly changed before the 19th century. The selection of toys was reduced. A doll and a hobby-horse were the basic toys. Industrial revolution was epoch-making to toy culture. Also in Finland, the first toy factories were founded in the latter part of the 19th century. Toys developed into a new kind of pastime, to substitutes for adults and play-mates.

It can be observed that the traditions of play and toys are still strongly alive. Playing home with dolls, shopkeeping and other types of role play continue to be the favourites of the girls, boys play with trains and railway tracks and cars, together they play games, busy themselves with hobby equipment, or construct with bricks. Each toy has its direct historical counterpart. Industrial revolution brought new materials to playthings. And after the Second World War the hegemony of the plastic has greatly changed the appearance of the toys.

Ludvik Horvat

A PLAY AS A SUBJECT OF ETHNOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

We can find out nowadays that the specific features of children's games which are characteristic for certain social environments, cultures and national groups are restrainlessly fading away. The content of children's games is getting more and more uniform, due to the influence of institutionalized programmes of upbringing and education, mass media and the way of life in general. In the past fifty years the ethnologists have noticed a constant disappearance of series of habits, customs and folk's games which are related to them and were usually performed by children as well as by adults. Certain sports games and other kinds of systematically organized recreations and relaxations are taking their place today. In spite of the fact that a greater part of contemporary sports games has its origin in some specific folk games of a particular culture, they have been changed throughout their development so much that their playing component has lost its meaning and function in modern sports. It sounds almost tragical that this finding can be stated for the professional sport as well as for the unimportant village competitions. Because of this and a series of other reasons, it is important to develop research projects which will tend to register the wealth of traditional games in particular cultures, try to save them from oblivion, to rehabilitate, revitalize and adapt them for the modern way of life.

The history of the ethnological science has witnessed the age of romanticism in Europe as the time of the first awareness about folk tradition in national cultures. There has been a wide range of written evidence for it, from the first organized collections of folklore and their publishing, and even more interesting, from the usage of oral transmission as a motive or even a literary style in the literature of that time.

The cultural life of Yugoslav nations was in a certain way and to a certain extent also captured by this current. The enthusiasm and qualification of Serbian Vuk Karadžić for collecting the folklore at the beginning of the 19th century was well known to the distinguished Slovenian Jernej Kopitar in Vienna. This tendency existed more or less throughout the whole 19th century and became more and more manifest also in our country. All of this was in a certain way the base for the development of the ethnological science which was at its begining strictly oriented to descriptions of phenomena, especially in the field of spiritual culture. The first denomination for the science has its origin here: ethnography (grafos: to write, to note). The ethnological research was not deepened and did not include any comparative methods or try to intensify the explanations of individual phenomena as a part of general life praxis in a particular socio-cultural environment until the modern ethnological science has developed. There are only fragmentary attempts at systematic research of child's play which are known in our ethnological literature. The one exception is Slovenian ethnologist N. Kuret who dedicated the greater part of his ethnological research work to child's play.

The unique action to elaborate an ethnological map of Yugoslavia was started at the Yugoslav Ethnological Association in 1967. This has been a large project in terms of its goals, scope and preciseness of methodology. But it seems even larger if we know at least the outlines of our ethnological wealth and the variety of nations and nationalities living on Yugoslav ground. This project has been going on for over 20 years and the field work has not been completed yet. Since there are many organizational and financial problems it is reasonable to ask when and if at all this exceptional project will be finished. I would like to point out that the fourth part of the questionnaires include particular areas of traditional children's and adult's games.

There has also been another large project "The Ethnological Topography of Slovenian Ethnical Territory" going on since 1978. The nineth section of the questionnaire used in field work includes in its third chapter the precise methodology in the field of "children's and adult's games" and was prepared by previously cited Slovenian ethnologist N. Kuret. Some monographies about ethnological topography which treat the particular localities with their environments have already been published. Reviewing these works I found out that the area of traditional children's games has been treated extremely well.

Preparing this brief report I inspected the archives in the Ethnological Institute of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Together with my colleague ethnologists we concluded that further collections of material on the terrain are not necessary even for elaboration of a highly extensive and precise anthology of traditional children's games on the Slovenian ethnic territory. Further field work would be interesting only for comparative research and would probably only confirm my initial thests about the decrease in the extent of appearance and the meaning of traditional games throughout decades. This kind of research would be especially interesting for the nations who have similar archives with recordings through longer periods of time.

Therefore, I suggest to formulate the frame of reference for the methodology. We should first find out what has already been collected in the area of children's traditional games, in what way and by what methods, the way it was written down, how much material is preserved and how all of this can be useful for the realization of the idea about the elaboration of the anthology on traditional children's games. Until we solve these problems, it does not make sense for the ethnological science to engage in any further collection of games in cases where single areas and regions have not been treated yet and when the materials have not been preserved. We should cooperate with ethnologists in this kind of research work and use their experiences as well as their methods.

In the second part of my contribution, I would like to point out the further problems in the procedure of anthology preparation. To achieve the goals the project has set about the traditional games, it will be necessary to elaborate a precise methodology for the selection of material and, later on, the criteria for their systematization. Elaborating the criteria and methods for the systematization of games it will be necessary to consider the criteria from the point of view of the humanistic as well as the social sciences. I would like to draw attention to all the "romantic" mistakes which take everything called "folklore" for genuine, original and of exceptional value. It will be necessary to find out what has its social and cultural value through profound historical, linguistic and cultural analyses. A process of sifting will also have to be done. It will separate the weeds from the precious grains at the end.

The concern of the sociologists, pedagogues and psychologists for everyday life forms the second part of the criteria. We can ask ourselves whether everything traditional is really worth in general, and whether it has its value in normal child development, or educational value in the modern way of life. Through such antologies we have to strive for the preservation of "tradition" because it is precious from the historical point of view. In this way we shall not negate particular qualities of modern life, the basic human values and relations in the society at the end of the second millenium. One-dimensional approaches to "the traditional", "the folk", "the tested through time" may become, in its extreme form or when misconcieved, a violation of today's childhood, in the same way as modern cartoons and other mass media, which have become consumer goods for children all over the world, and at the same time the basic means of manipulation with their personal identity formation.

At the end I would like to emphasize the great importance of the project goals which show that such an undertaking is not meant to preserve the old, past and overcome, for our descendents. The basic goal of these anthologies is to enrich the impoverished social environment and relations among children and adults in today's way of life. Even if we manage to compile good anthologies of traditional children's games of various nations, there will still remain the open question whether these anthologies will remain just written documents of extreme value about the ways of life in the past. Therefore, I suggest that these anthologies should include additional material which would explain the origin and the development of games, their role in the past, their importance in child development and especially their meaning in today's society. We should also take into account that we will have to overcome certain kinds of prejudices in parents and other educators. If we manage to preserve the most genuine traditional children's games, to revitalize them in today's world and make them become actual in child's everyday life we will be allowed to state that the project in general has attained its intention. At the present this is still an open question. We can also state that an extreme effort of various professionals and social organizations in each society will be necessary.

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Sinikka Kuosmanen

PLAY, TRADITION AND TRADITIONAL GAMES

In 1789 Vicar Nils Idman said "Finns were so reticent and morose that they know no other play than that which nature herself requires of them". Fifty years later Elias Lonnrot, compiler of the Finnish folklore tradition, was to say that "comely pleasures, games and amusements are refreshing after hard work. Enjoyed in moderation they enhance both body and mind, and augment the circulation and the flow of other fluids as well. After working each and every one should himself take delight and also provide innocent entertainments for others, especially for children and young people".

The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare, a 66-year-old child welfare organization that also receives financial support from the State, feels that making children aware of their folklore and art is one of the central concerns of child welfare.

In 1980 the Mannerheim League made an extensive survey of both child welfare professionals and families. This survey contains the views and expectations of the respondents on important questions of child welfare in their communities. Results obtained from all over Finland were consistant. The respondents wanted the Mannerheim League, which engages in voluntary child welfare work, to device activities in which the entire family could take part. The findings were interesting, because a study of the Finnish way of life made jointly by a number of universities at the same time drew attention to the "impoverishment of family life in Finland". The time spent together by families with children is very short, only 20-30 minutes a day. Families both in towns and in the country spent most of their spare time watching television, 2.5 hours a day. An atmosphere of nostalgia for the past emerged after the study. An illusion of former happiness was maintained, the good sides of the present were denied, and a dim view of contemporary life almost always prevailed.

In seeking to find activities for the entire family.the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare started with the child, and considered what is essential to him. The conclusion was that play is a fundamental part of childhood. Research on Finnish customs showed that families played very little together, and that children's games were not very well known. In the atmosphere of nostalgia it was believed that families used to spend all their time playing together. In order to bridge this obvious cultural gap, the Mannerheim League made a pilot study of traditional games enjoyed by the entire family. The parents and grandparents of today's small children were interviewed to find out about the games they had played. The goal was to offer the games played by grandmother and grandfather as a substitute for television. More than 300 games were collected this way. The games recalled by grandparents could be divided into two basic groups. On the one hand there were parlor games played by respondents in their youth, and on the other hand combinations of songs and games from Germany that were used in Finnish kindergartens. As the games themselves showed, play involving members of different generations was rare, and the purpose of play was in fact to promote interaction within a single age group. Play offered a chance to make ties with one's own age group when work was done, and under the supervision of adults. Young people in those days had neither clubs nor discotheques.

Tradition in general experienced a renaissance in Finland at the beginning of the 1980s. Educators became interested in games and play in a new way. Although research did not actually confirm views about play in the past, it did include individual games that were representative of the 200-year tradition of play in Finland. These games were easy to adapt to present day conditions without losing any of their traditional value. They were published in a book entitled "It's Fun to play" which includes songs, combined games and songs, games involving exercise and apparatus of various kinds, games without songs, and crafts - all of which can be used together with children. The book is divided into two parts, the first of which includes songs and games and instructions for the use of the five-string kangele, a new "traditional" Finnish instrument. The other half deals with the seasons and with customs and beliefs related to them.

As the book itself states, there is little in the way of a children's tradition of play. On the whole, lullabies and entertaining songs were sung to small children. Older children accompanied their parents and gradually learned songs heard from them at work or when having a good time. Many of today's children's games are really adults' songs, dances, rituals, sport or forms of contest. What we consider the "classical" children's tradition today was not for children alone; customs that are regarded as part of the adult world are perhaps future children's games. Much of what is known as Finnish oral tradition or folklore consists of play between two or more individuals. Usually the participants are aware of verbal aspects of the game or play, but are not very familiar with the entirety.

The games recalled by the oldest Finns are 1. everyday songs conceived during periods of rest between work, 2. "killanketo", a type of Finnish folk sport and 3. village games of young people. Play was linked to the seasons, and was divided between festivals connected with work and church holidays. Church festivals generally fell when there was less work outdoors and festivals connected with work when there was a lot to do outside. In the traditional Finnish village community an attempt was made to make work pleasant for the doer (a virtue was made of necessity), so that time would pass quickly. The regular exertions of the crop year were made into community efforts in which competition and latent merriment were combined with work; when the job was done the workers would be treated with an abundance of food and drink. Games that involved both acting and singing were part of these festivals; they were sometimes a bit wild, because each individual was allowed to make fun of the others' contribution to the joint effort, in this case the raising of food.

In collecting material for the book "It's Fun to play", the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare has not gone any deeper into the nature of play than what was mentioned above; it has concentrated on encouraging play and humor in everyday life through games. In 1982, the Sunday after the UN Children's Rights Day was designated a day of play. The Mannerheim League has trained area leaders for these play sessions, who have in turn trained additional leaders in their own communities. On the first such Sunday, games that had been chosen jointly were played in 100 communities. The following year new forms of play and games were introduced, and these will certainly become tomorrow's traditions. In 1984, more than 40000 children and adults took part in play sessions held in 300 communities. The goal is to maintain those games already learned and at the same time to expand and promote play, the theme being "Play for everyone".

Jean Retschitzki

FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE SURVIVAL OF THE AWELE GAME

The awélé game

The awélé game belongs to the class of sowing games, little known in the West, but quite widespread along the African continent as well as in certain parts of Asia and South America. There are many variations, existing under different names: Kalah, Serata, Palankuli, Wari, Solo, etc.

Their common characteristic is that they are played with seed placed in partitions usually carved out in a wooden board. These partitions are arranged in several rows and there is a fixed direction in which the sowing takes place. The goal of the game is to collect the most of this seed, according to rules pertaining to a numerical distribution of the seed along the partitions. Sometimes the players simply dig holes in the ground, and the seed is replaced with pebbles or small shells.

In the variation which we have studied, the game is played by two players with a board composed of two rows of six partitions each; each partition contains four seeds at the beginning of the game; the players take turns; one turn consists in the player choosing a partition on his side of the board, taking its contents and sowing these counter-clockwise, leaving one seed per box. At the end of his turn, if the player finishes his sowing with one of the opponent's partitions, and this partition contains 2 or 3 seeds, these are collected by the player as well as all the seeds in the preceding partitions belonging to the opponent that also contain 2 or 3 seeds.

The first description of the awélé game in the literature was given by Béart (1955); further works have delt specifically with this game and supplied interesting additional details about it (Raabe, 1972; Deledicq & Popova, 1977; Ballou, 1978). We were led by these works to give a brief description of the rules of the game, which is given in the appendix.

It is a very simple game, as the rules can be learnt in a few minutes. Still, only sufficiently long experience allows one to reach a satisfactory level of mastery of the game and to play it well. The best players are usually the old people in a village, mostly illiterate. This could seem paradoxical, as the rules of collection are based on numerical criteria, the manipulation of which could be facilitated by school learning.

We can also stress that the game is interesting for all ages. It already attracts children who have just learned its rules, and it remains fascinating for adults as well. We have encountered many Ivory Coast intellectuals who devote a great deal of their free time to discussions of the interminable tournaments in the game.

Traditional aspects of the awélé game

Although the ethnologists cannot explain with certainty the origin of the awélé game, which thus represents a sort of enigma, the game is deeply rooted in the tradition, as is witnessed by numerous indicators. It has left many traces in the customs and objects.

In relation to customs, several authors report that the game was reserved for dignitaries (Zaslavsky, 1973; Raabe, 1972). It seems, thus, that the game was used in the process of appointing the new village chief among the Alladians, a people who live in the south of Ivory Coast. Many other examples could be given.

As for the objects, one can find, in the markets, weights for measuring gold which represent awélé boards, as well as numerous carved boards the wear of which bespeaks antiquity.

Besides, the game is officially recognized as a part of the national heritage. It was chosen as the symbol of Ivory Coast national lottery and is depicted on each of its tickets. A national championship was organized and large excerpts were broadcast by the national TV. Finally, a recent movie, which was awarded first prize at the Festival in Cannes, shows the game of awélé.

A disappearing game

It is becoming relatively rare to see awélé being played in the villages. When we were going to organize our research, it seemed that it was almost impossible to find a board in the village of Kpouébo. We ourselves had to provide the games which we had acquired at the markets of Abidjan, games meant for passing tourists.

We may, therefore, have certain dreads about the survival of the game and suppose that it may be in danger of disappearing. Actually, it is submitted to the competition by numerous other, less traditional games, which we have seen appearing in the villages (checkers, for example).

There are, besides, several indications that many parents forbid their children to play the game.

What's more, the wave of modernism, which has affected Ivory Coast like many other countries, may have the effect of devalueing the awélé game, which would be considered as overly connected to traditional customs.

It can be saved

Even though we may concider the awélé game to be threatened by extinction, we shouldn't overestimate the gravity of this plight. Actually, there also are favorable factors which act in the opposite direction.

Paradoxally, while the game has almost disappeared in villages, the revival of its vigor may originate in the cities, where we have seen groups of workers amusing themselves at the midday break by playing awélé. There also exist clubs which gather amateur players of this game. They can also be found in some number of marketplaces.

Besides, we may note that the Ivory Coast, like many other similar countries, has become aware of the importance of preserving a certain number of traditional values, and that the government has taken measures to this end. We may believe that a game like awélé could also benefit from this type of measures if that became necessary.

Besides, it is necessary to note that most people still know the rules of the game, and that it is already appreciated to an extent, at least by certain milieus, as demonstrated by the national television broadcast of the finals of a disputed national championship in Abidjan.

The most valuable support for the survival of the awélé game could come from outside the country. Namely, on the one hand, educational circles could be sensitized to the educational value of the game, and on the other, the game could make a full come-back thanks to micro-informatics.

In the educational domain, Deledicq and Popova (1977) have shown that the rules of the awélé game could be used in a mathematics course as an interesting way to work through various concepts, such as combinational analysis, the reduction of relational graphs, determination of the winning strategy, or probability calculation (Deledicq & Popova, 1977, ch. 3).

Those are quite difficult examples, reserved for advanced students. We can already use situations from the awélé at the primary level in exercising more elementary concepts, such as correspondence, the decomposition of whole numbers, elementary addition and subtraction, and various examples of conservation (Zaslavsky, 1973, ch. 11).

Fundamental research can contribute to the salvation of the game

In terms of the central preoccupation of the OMEP Project, namely the revival of traditional games, we can ask ourselves what it would be possible to do in the particular case of the awélé game.

It is possible to imagine various means of action, to begin with - a campaign directed at educators, meaning parents and teachers. In as much as the latter are concerned, it would be adequate to alert them to the profit they could draw from the situations of the game in their teaching (cf. the previous section).

As far as parents are concerned, it is necessary to be able to persuade them not to forbid their children to play the game, as seems often to be the case. This endeavour is certainly not an easy one, considering that the appreciation of children's play activities in these regions has only recently made way in the light of psychological works.

Having this difficulty in mind, it is also possible to judge such an enterprise unrealistic. We were told by the winner of the Ivory Coast national championship how he was initiated in the game and perfected it during his childhood secretly from his parents (Angoua Kouadio, personal communication). As that has not prevented him from becoming the excellent player that he is, we may ask ourselves whether the parents' prohibition isn't in certain cases actually beneficial, conferring on the game the attraction of forbidden fruit.

Another type of campaign, less direct but perhaps more efficient, would consist in indirect attempts at the modification of the image which the people have of the awélé game.

Instead of insisting on the traditional character of the game, we might on the contrary demonstrate its richness, complexity and modernism.

The richness of the game may be demonstrated on the basis of theoretical analyses of the same type as those by Deledicq and Popova (1977) or Ballou (1978).

In the same manner, using psychological work about the players' strategies (Retschitzki, N'Guessan Assandé & Loesch-Berger, 1985) we may demonstrate all their complexity and the intellectual value of this activity.

Finally, we may demonstrate the modernism of the game thanks to the interest it arouses in Western countries and to its implementation in various micro-processors. Thus, a variation is currently circulating in one of the most recent machines, the MacIntosh (Spinelli, 1985).

It is in this type of indirect campaigns that fundamental research initiated for achieving totally different objectives can prove to be efficient. Through publications and the stimulation of discussions in various milieus, the impact of this work may be significant.

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APPENDIX: Rules of the awélé game

1. Beginning of the game:
- seeds are placed on the board four per partition.
- Players draw lots (or decide) on who is to begin.
- The first player chooses one partition in his range, gathers all the seeds found there and sows them.

4 4 4 4 4 4
4 4 4 4 4 4

The situation at the outset.

2. Rules of sowing:
- One seed per partition is sown, moving counter-clockwise.
- When the player has finished sowing the seed from his chosen partition, he may collect the seed to which he now has right.
- It is, then, his opponents turn to play. He chooses a partition within his range, gathers up the seed and sows.

4 4 4 4 4 5
4 4 0 5 5 5

5 5 5 0 4 5
5 4 0 5 5 5

5 5 5 0 4 5
5 0 1 6 6 6

An example of the begining of the game: A has played from the 3-rd partition, then B has played from the 9th, and finally A from the 2nd.

3. Rules of collection:
- When the sowing finishes in the opponent's range, bringing the content of the last partition to 2 or 3 seeds, the player takes these, adding them to his grains.

Example: Continuing from the last presented situation, player B can collect 2 seeds by playing the 4th partition.

6 6 0 0 4 5
6 1 $\underline{2}$ 6 6 6

B finishes his sowing in the 3rd partition, bringing its content up to 2 seeds. He collects the two seeds. The resulting situation is:

6 6 0 0 4 5
6 1 0 6 6 6

- If the partitions preceding the one from which seed has been collected also contain 2 or 3 seeds, their contents are also collected, right down to the end of the opponent's range.

Example:

3 2 1 2 1 0 1 3 0 6 0 1	In this situation, player A can collect 7 seeds by playing from the 4th partition.

A's turn: $3\ 2\ \underline{2}\ \underline{3}\ \underline{2}\ 1$

$1\ 3\ \overline{0}\ \overline{0}\ \overline{1}\ 2$

After the collection :

3 2 0 0 0 1
1 3 0 0 1 2

4. End of the game:

- The game thus continues in alternating moves until one of the following outcomes:
  1. the total remaining number of seeds does not permit collection any more
  2. one of the players cannot make a move
  3. the players decide to interrupt the game, the outcome being obvious.
- The player who has collected more seed is the winner of the game.

5. Important specifications:

- If, in a single sowing movement, a complete circle around the board is made (more than 11 seeds in the initial partition), the player does not have to place any more seed in the initial partition.
- In case that the opponent has no seed left, the player is obliged to play a move that will regain him some, as long as such a move exists.
- It is forbidden to collect all the opponent's seed. If the move which would result in this is the only one open to the player, he will make no collection and the game will continue.

Elly Bašić

DIFFERENCES IN THE AUTHENTICITY OF CHILDREN'S EXPRESSION AND THE VIEWING ANGLE OF THE ADULTS (II)

There are three crucially different approaches to the "truth" about children's play which are diametrically opposed in relation to function and therefore also to authenticity:

a) The first and solely authentic approach presents children at free play, in their natural surroundings, meaning in groups of children of various ages, the play taking place in various ambiences natural to the child. The playing under these conditions takes place according to the bio-psycho-social rules of the child's complex and integral person, spontaneously and - what's important - in an emotionally involved manner and therefore with maximal concentration. For such play and such playfulness represent the child's need to socialize (which is important) and the child's natural need for the joy of living (which is also important).

The collecting methodology - at least in games of the musical type - ought to focus its recordings primarily on this aproach, because the child's authentic creative statements thus obtained will serve as authentic material for the study of the child by the adults, of his childhood, sensibility, and his life in the course of his growing up.

b) A different approach consists in the "observations" of adults who still "hear", "see", "record" and "evaluate" only certain children's statements, chosen according to the value of the grown-up European civilization. The approach lately incorporates the quasi-humanitarian motto: "Adults must descend to the level of the child"!! The adult still sees only an "immature adult" in the child, instead of finally understanding how difficult it is not to "descend", but to "rise" to the level of the child!

These documents are also significant in regard to the recording methodology, especially as material for comparison with the first, authentic category. They are particularly useful in the classification of the obtained material, serving as a "memo" to the adults, enabling them to "hear", "see", "observe", "understand" and "think" better for the benefit of generations to come.

c) The third approach is the most destructive in relation to children's play, their natural way of life, and the abundance of their creative imagination and free expression. It consists in the use of play for "educational" purposes, as employed in the past 300 years by the euphoric European pedagogy, with its ever specific "objectives and tasks" and "administrative" organizational designs. For example, the rhythmic, metric and structural wealth of spontaneous children's counting rhymes is allegedly used for "speech exercises"; or, for example, games are grouped for the purpose of the partial and not integral developmentof the child's physical, cognitive, psychological and other abilities, or for the purpose of "formal musical education", all this still taking place according to that tragic didactic misconception: "from the easier to the more difficult" - without asking what is actually easier for the child, and forgetting that the integral development of the child will also suit the specific area development. The approach of the adult to children's play in education today is either based on the segragating attitudde about children's "minority" or, currently fashionably, consists in a market-wise evaluation of the originally integral (syncretic) child's creativity and his authentic imagination, mercilessly tearing it apart and submitting it to the consumer trends of the mass media, the publishing institution, and educational programmes for the development of the child's "ear", "voice", etc., including text-books which are generally similarly conceived.

Play - not the educationally "utilitarian" and "rationed" kind but the real one - is a social need of the child. In the process of the child's adaptation to society, instead of being obstructed in his socialization by misconceived educational measures, play enables the child to develop a creative spirit, the joy of life, and freedom of personality. It enables children to develop into a more communicative, less aggressive generation.

Children of various ages mutually interact in their natural play setting, while age-wise grouping in institutions hinders to a great extent the natural socialization and mental development of the child through play. The child becomes socially integrated through play. However, through the educational employment of play, the educational practice will "evaluate" the child, leading to social differentiation. Precisely there lies the danger that the adult will not understand the profound social func- tion of play in the child's natural development.

In her plenary lecture, Dr. Sanda Marjanović has mentioned a work of mine on the atrophy of the child's creative imagination in the course of more than a quarter of a century on the same territory.

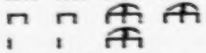
In that paper, I discussed the faulty attitudes of contemporary musical education in the world, using an example from our country, from the Mediterranean island of Hvar. I described the systematic impoverishment of the children's musical creative imagination in making up their own counting rhymes, as they fall under the "influence of models" presented by the school, the educational programme and text-books. These models were chosen in a utilitary fashion, according to the unfortunate dictum - "from the easier to the more difficult" - resulting in closed forms of a verbal, musically stereotyped sort, of a uniform rhythmic flow. For example:

Išo medo kroz šumicu ⊓ ⊓ ⊓ ⊓
izgubio papučicu ⊓ ⊓ ⊓ ⊓

On the other hand, in the same territory, there is a musical richness of rhythmic structures and the dynamism of open forms in the products of children's spontaneous creative imagination:

- (Jelsa 1) - Hvar island:

Šćipavica pipavica mede kalajs[1]
stanko banko ilojka bilojka
car beg na vojsku



The first rhyme results from the adult "teaching" of rhythm, while the second results from the child's living experience of rhythm as a natural occurrence.

The collection of children's musical folkolore, especially the melodic and rhythmic structures, will demand a more elaborate and specific methodological approach than that necessary in the collection of literary categories (fairy tales, stories, etc.).

Scientific work has encountered the dangers of denying authenticity to the childish character of these categories of children's creative imagination while conducting:

a) their collection,

b) their musicological description,

c) the elaboration, definition and categorization of the collected material,

d) the application of the collected material for educational purposes.

This significant problem would require elaboration in a separate article.

We shall mention here only one problem related to education which is important for the child's development into an adult human being. The problem of our responsibility imposes itself upon us; will we not, by supporting the child's freedom, hinder his necessary adaptation to the society he lives in? Won't we thus support his alienation, instead of helping him in socialization?

I believe that the only correct answer would be to provide the child simultaneously with both. In my musical pedagogy ("Functional Musical Pedagogy"), I termed this the "continuous double-track principle" in the child's development, during which play, the freedom of creative imagination and the preservation of the integrity of the child's personality will all, through thoughtful action, enrich and help - and not "hinder" - the child's adaptation. Play here is joyfulness in playing - the social component of primary importance for the child's development.

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[1] All examples cited here are taken from manuscripts of the melographic and ethnomusicological field work by this author, and cannot be reprinted or used for any other purpose without reference to this source.

Here is only one of numerous examples:

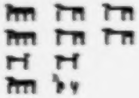
The child "learns" very early to count off his fingers. Thus he learns to count to 10 for the purposes of utilitarian verbal communication. Semantically, all the children from one linguistic area learn to name the numbers in a uniform manner. However, parallely to the semantic counting, children like to enrich the sequence from 1 to 10 in the "other track" with creative sound. Here are several citations from my ethnomusicological records from our territory.

I will ask those participants in this gathering who have been blocked in early childhood by musical pedagogy and persuaded that they have "no ear" to forget this childhood frustration for a moment and to believe me that every child has an ear for music. Each of you will be able to "hear" the musicality of these child-imagined numbers from 1 to 10.

With the ability to count off the numbers semantically correctly as they are, for example, in the Croatian or Serbian language - from 1 to 10: jedan, dva, tri, četiri, pet, šest, sedam, osam, devet, deset - there is simultaneously a musical richness of the child's joy in imaginative play. The verbal elements in the counting are not "meaningless words", as they are not meant here to have a "meaning" in the verbal-communicational sense. They are here a musical - communicational means of "sounding joy", understandable to all the children in the world.

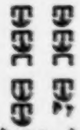
- The children of Croatian settlers in the surroundings of **Bačka Topola**:

Jedno kolo dvokolo trokolo
čvrkalo pekalo šekalo
sejman dojman
diverego dris



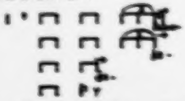
- A Hungerian child playing with the Slavic-sounding counting rhyme; Dolga Vas (the region of Prekmurje):

Enoga vanoga
trinoga čičira
finja rinja
okola sokola
dinoga diks



- (Jelsa 24) - Hvar island:

Jednogo dvogo trogo
četvorogo pego šego
šekun dekun
delade kva



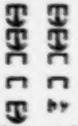
The last rhyme comes from the mentioned island, where pedagogy has succeeded in atrophying the children;s musical imagination in counting rhymes.

I have recently encountered such a counting game in my ethnomusicological research in Gradišće, at the boundaries of Hungary, Austria and Czechoslovakia, where Croatians have settled 400 years ago in their retreat from the incoming Turks, preserving their language in the new homeland.

Here is the children's musical game of counting 1 to 10 from the beginning of this century:

- Gradišće, in Hunagary:

Anare cvanare
trikule cesare
engva lengva
okva dokva
dibina dix



I shall conclude witn the suggestion; let us not be, in our future Project, the "archeologists" of children's creative imagination, recording traditional games and play as a part of the cultural heritage in order to save them from oblivion, but let us also try to save this wealth of children's imagination from extinction!

Jadranka Nikić

TRADITIONAL GAMES IN THE KINDERGARTEN

As the most significant childhood activity, play has always been a constituent part of the life and work, as well as of the culture of each social community. This may also be said for the play of the contemporary child.

Because of the great significance which play has for children of all ages, it has long been the subject of interest and study in respect to the character and type of games played at particular ages, as well as to the general significance of play in child development.

Play was studied by educationalists, psychologists, sociologists, ethnologists, cultural historians, musicologists, as well as all those interested in the meaning of human development and existance. According to some, play is not only an integral part of many wakes of life, such as art, science, language, mores, etc., but represents the source of all cultural processes. For Huizinga, author of "Homo Ludens", play is the motor of civilizational development, which leads us to the idea that the reaches of culture, its quality and content, depend very much on the variety and wealth of games.

Play also appears as a link between generations, which transmits in the most natural way the values held by a community, the systems of ethical and aesthetic norms, beliefs, ideals, folklore, and other elements of tradition, on which all depend the continuity and cultural identity of the community and, in the long run, its survival.

If the proposed thesis is true, then there is cause for worry, having in mind what and how today's children play, especially in cities. They are not sufficiently acquainted with traditional games, and their general ludic activity is characterized by impoverished content and structure. Among the games of contemporary children, ball games are most popular.

It is also common for children, gathered in groups of various sizes, to loiter around apartment buildings, in parking lots, in building entrance halls, playing roles of currently popular TV characters. The toys they play with are most often made of -tificial materials, with plastic toy weapons taking the lead.

It is evident that children cannot find an abundance of stimulation which would enrich their games in their everyday surroundings; cramped contemporary living quarters are no more stimulating; games, therefore, also lack content. Highly urbanized milieus offer less and less opportunity for social contact with adults and for participation in the realities of life, as well as for the transmission of play experience and tradition from one generation to another. This problem wasn't posed until recently, because there was a lot more intergenerational "mixing", the population migrated less, which means there wasn't so much tearing out of socio-cultural context, and there was more time for play, which occured spontaneously and was encountered in the street, in courtyards, at parties and gatherings.

As contemporary families are torn out of their context and reduced the nucleus - parents and children - traditional experience in education, which used to be transmitted and cherished by older members of the extended family community, is disappearing. This phenomenon decreases the influence which the family used to have in regard to one important social and cultural function - the transmission of games and play experience to children. Concidering that this function, as well as many other functions of the contemporary family, is being taken over by preschool institutions, it makes sense to ask whether our kindergartens are prepared to fulfill it in the domain of acquainting children with selected traditional games, to what extent and in which ways.

In attempting to answer this question, we made a round of kindergartens in Novi Sad, observing children at play and interviewing teachers; we also analyzed the current "Programme of Educational Work with Preschool Children", as well as several collections of games, which are available to preschool teachers.

We arrived at the general conclusion that didactic games (as games which are created, in a sense, artificially and with a certain objective) have almost entirely supressed traditional games. This can be observed both in games selected by the children themselves and in games organized and directed by the teacher.

Although the "Programme for Kindergartens" stresses all sorts of activities in its introduction, underscoring play in particular, this is generally done in a declarative way without specific instructions about how to select and conduct games. It is particularly conspicuous that traditional games are not mentioned anywhere in the text of the Programme, although that was necessary. This fact is quite indicatory, especially if we're aware of the fact that preschool teachers base their work predominantly, and even exclusively, on this document which is obligatory for them.

As we see in the teacher and his personality the creator of the entire educational effort, we feel that his role in the processes of playing and learning is very important. Namely, we have noted that the decrease in the number of traditional games in our kindergartens is effected by the teacher, his personality, his own childhood, the socio-cultural milieu in which he grew up, as well as his wish to play with children and to act as a partner in games. We have noticed that many more games are played by children whose teachers have succeeded in applying all the valuable knowledge about the influence of play on child development in their everyday work, so that games are always present, in classrooms as well as in the courtyard, in dining rooms and halls as well as in the gym, irrespectively of space and time.

With teachers who are aware of their role in the education of children, games are played from the gathering of children in the morning till their departure home and permeate the entire educational process. In kindergartens where play is encouraged, children are more spontaneous, more open, more ready to transmit the game rules to other children and adults.

Certain teachers would, after some game which the children have accepted readily, give the children the assignment to ask their parents to teach them some game which they had played when they were small. But such examples are very few, just as there are less and less spaces in which the older generation would play or generally socialize with children.

We have also noticed that traditional games are more common and varied in those kindergartens where there is well established cooperation between the kindergarten staff and the grandparents, i.e., in those territories where three generations live together as families and where the influence of the oldest generation in education is still strong.

As we have found about that there are few traditional games, or none at all, present in kindergartens, we turned to the content and conception, as well as the methodic directions contained in the handbooks with collections of games used by teachers in their work with preschool children.

On the basis of an analysis of these handbooks, we noted that there are more authentic traditional games in older editions of handbooks and game collections, while the new ones contain somewhat revised games - in rules, text, melody, or something that's added. It should be noted that the older editions of game collections are generally not available to a great number of teachers, and there are by now only rare samples which can be found in the libraries of some kindergartens. It is also alarming that contemporary handbooks often contain unimaginative surrogates for children's games which resemble in all respects the procedures of traditional classroom work, which certainly does not contribute to the realization of play in its essence.

We quite often encountered phenomena which include the misuse of games. Traditional games and their contents become a means of practicing for performances and official holiday celebrations, which means that they are demonstrative in character. In that way, games become mere formal exercises and lose spontaneity, without which they cannot be treated as true games.

This brief review and impressions on the use of traditional games in our kindergartens are sufficient to show us that the state of affairs is alarming. The description, however, is not typical only for kindergartens in Novi Sad, or in Yugoslavia as a whole, but applies more generally worldwide.

Therefore, K.D. Ušinski's thought pronounced more than a century ago is still relevant. Criticizing the games invented by F. Frebel, he said that it might have been better if he had "elaborated those children's games which have already existed for centuries, and which are played alike by little Russian, the Italian, the Indian child on the banks of the Ganges, by our children and the children of ancient Greeks and Romans... The assignment of future educational theory is to pay attention to these popular games, to elaborate this rich source, and to organize them and transform them into an extraordinary and powerful educational medium".

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Aleksandra Marjanović

A. THE PROTOCOL FOR THE COLLECTION OF TRADITIONAL GAMES

FORM A1 - THE DESCRIPTION OF GAMES AQUIRED FROM ADULT INFORMERS

1.0. INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESEARCHER
    1.1. Name and surname
    1.2. Profession
    1.3. Date of interview

2.0. DESCRIPTIVE FACTS ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT
    2.1. Settlement
        2.1.1 Name
        2.1.2 The type of settlement (village, smaller town, town, new settlement, big city, etc.)
    2.2 Larger region
        2.2.1 Name
        2.2.2 Type of larger region (community, county, republic, etc.)
    2.3. Institution for children in the settlement (preschool, school, cultural institutions, children's organizations, etc.)
    2.4. Types of families (prevailing traditional families, nuclear families, families in transition, etc)
    2.5. General conditions for play and game (free space, streets, play grounds, wasteland, etc.)
    2.6. Adults passtimes (prevailing forms of gettogethers, games, sports, festivals, carnevals, TV, etc.)

3.0. FACTS ABOUT THE INFORMER
    - Oral report acquired from an adult/adults
    3.1. Generation (grandparents, parents)
    3.2. Age
    3.3. Sex
    3.4. Profession

3.5. Education
3.6. How popular was the game in his (their) childhood
Who taught him the game

4.0. DESCRIPTIVE FACTS ABOUT THE GAME

(A memorandum for the interview with the informer)

- 4.1. Title of the game (and possible variations in the title)
- 4.2. Players
  - 4.2.1. Age
  - 4.2.2. Sex
- 4.3. The type of game (according to the number of players)
  - 4.3.1. Solitary
  - 4.3.2. Two players
  - 4.3.3. Three players
  - 4.3.4. Other possibilities
- 4.4. Playing space (empty space, playground, courtyard, corner, table, stage, etc.)
- 4.5. Playing time
  - 4.5.1. The length of playing time
  - 4.5.2. Is there any particular time when the game is played (time of day, season of the year)

4.6. THE COURSE OF THE GAME

- 4.6.1. Commencement of the game (spontaneus agreement, a formal invitation to play, counting off, some other way to commence the game and distribute roles)
  Rules for the invitation to play and for the commencement of the game
- 4.6.2. The middle part of the game (a detailed description of everything that is done in the course of the game)
  - what is spoken or chanted
  - the temporal sequence of the various stages of the game

        - fictive situations: fictive (imaginary) space, fictive (imaginary) time; roles: dominant, submissive, changes of roles; requisites: real; fictive (imaginary)
        - the rules of the game: describe the rules of the game, the types of rules: role-directed, formalized; variations in the rules
        - the relationship between the rules and the fictive situation (the degree of domination of one or the other element in the playing field)

    4.6.3. The finale of the game (describe how the game ends; the reasons for the conclusion of the game: formal, psychological; the rules for the conclusion of the game)

4.7. Gains in the game (e.g., points, the right to take on a new role, the right to take a toy, etc.)

4.8. Sanctions in the game (what must the loser or transgressor do or give)

4.9. Describe the possible variations in the game (underline the changing elements in variations of the same game)

5.0. THE ORIGIN OF THE GAME

5.1. Traditional game (in the sense of transmission over the generations; if possible, describe the connections that this game might have with the other products of folklore and culture, with religion, history, myths, rituals, etc.; data, if existing, about the transfer of this game from some other culture, and when this happened)

5.2. New game appearing in the informer's childhood

6.0. TOYS

- 6.1. Name of toy (toys) used in this game
- 6.2. The origin of the toys
    - 6.2.1. Traditional
    - 6.2.2. New in the informer's childhood
- 6.3. Type of toy (art, sports requisite, mobile toy, mechanical, etc.)
- 6.4. Manufacture (hand-made, industrial, child-made, etc.)
- 6.5. Material (wood, textile, plastic, natural material, etc.)
- 6.6. Make a sketch of the traditional toy

Aleksandra Marjanović

A. THE PROTOCOL FOR THE COLLECTION OF TRADITIONAL GAMES

FORM A2 - THE DESCRIPTION OF OBSERVED GAMES

1.0. INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESEARCHER

- 1.1. Name and surname
- 1.2. Profession
- 1.3. Date of observation

2.0. DESCRIPTIVE FACTS ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT

- 2.1. Settlement
  - 2.1.1 Name
  - 2.1.2 The type of settlement (village, smaller town, town, new settlement, big city, etc.)
- 2.2 Larger region
  - 2.2.1 Name
  - 2.2.2 Type of larger region (community, county, republic, etc.)
- 2.3. Institution for children in the settlement (preschool, school, cultural institutions, children's organizations, etc.)
- 2.4. Types of families (prevailing traditional families, nuclear families, families in transition, etc)
- 2.5. General conditions for play and game (free space, streets, play grounds, wasteland, etc.)
- 2.6. Adults passtimes (prevailing forms of gettogethers, games, sports, festivals, carnevals, TV, etc.)

3.0. FACTS ABOUT THE INFORMER (THE SOURCE OF INFORMATION)

- 3.1.1. Observation of spontaneous game--playing by a child/children
- 3.1.2. Oral report about the game obtained from the child/children

3.1.3. Observation of the game played at the request of the researcher
3.2. Facts about the children (who are playing the game, or giving information about the game)
3.2.1. Age
3.2.2. Sex
3.2.3. Educational institution enrolled in (kindergarten, school and grade, other)
3.2.4. Attitude toward the game
3.2.4.1. Do they play the game always/often
3.2.4.2. Do they play the game sometimes
3.2.4.3. Do they just know the game, without playing it
3.2.4.4. Who taught them the game

4.0. DESCRIPTIVE FACTS ABOUT THE GAME

4.1. Title of the game (and possible variations in the title)
4.2. Players
4.2.1. Age
4.2.2. Sex
4.3. The type of game (according to the number of players)
4.3.1. Solitary
4.3.2. Two players
4.3.3. Three players
4.3.4. Other possibilities
4.4. Playing space (empty space, playground, courtyard, corner, table, stage, etc.)
4.5. Playing time
4.5.1. The length of playing time
4.5.2. Is there any particular time when the game is played (time of day, season of the year)

5.0. THE COURSE OF THE GAME

5.1. Commencement of the game (spontaneus agreement, a formal invitation to play, counting off, other methods for the distribution of roles, rules for the invitation to play)

5.2. The middle part of the game (a detailed description of everything that the children do in the course of the game)
  - what they speak
  - the temporal sequence of the various stages of the game
  - **fictive situations:** Fictive (imaginary) space; fictive (imaginary) time; roles: dominant, submissive, changes of roles; requisites: real, fictive (imaginary)
  - **the rules of the game:** describe the rules of the game; the types of rules: role-directed, formalized; variations in the rules
  - the relationship between the rules and the fictive situation (the degree of interdependence, the degree of domination of one or the other element in the playing field)

5.3. The finale of the game (describe how the game ends, the reasons for the conclusion of the game: formal or psychological; the rules for the conclusion of the game)

5.4. Gains in the game (e.g., points, the right to take on a new role, the right to take a toy, etc.)

5.5. Sanctions in the game (what must the loser or transgressor do or give)

6.0. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PLAYERS

6.1. In the plane of the game (what kinds of social behavior and behavioral norms does the game impose)

6.2. In a realistic plane (the real relationships between the children at play; the domination of certain children, submission, conflict, psychological determinants in the distribution of roles, the satisfaction / dissatisfaction of particular players, etc.)

7.0. Describe the possible variations in the game (underline the changing elements in the variations of the same game)

8.0. THE ORIGIN OF THE GAME
  8.1. Traditional game (in the sense of transmission over the generations; if possible, describe the transfer of this game from another culture, and its connection to the other products of folklore and culture: religion, history, myth, etc.)
  8.2. New variations of a traditional game (give a detailed description of the inovations)
  8.3. New game (appeared in the present generation of children)
  8.4. Invention

9.0. TOY (TOYS), used in the game
  9.1. Name of toy (toys)
  9.2. Origin of the toy
    9.2.1. Traditional
    9.2.2. New
  9.3. Type of toy (art, sports requisite, mobile toy, mechanical, etc.)
  9.4. Manufacture
    9.4.1. Hand-made
    9.4.2. Industrial
    9.4.3. Made by the children themselves
  9.5. Material (wood, textile, plastic, natural material, etc.)
  9.6. Function of the toy in the game (description of the function, fixed function, versatile function)
  9.7. Make sketch of the traditional toy

B. EXPLANATION OF THE PROTOCOL (FORMS A1 AND A2)

1. There are three possible sorces for the collection of traditional games with rules:

a) observation and recording of the games children play in the places where they gather,

b) information about popular games obtained from the children themselves,

c) information about games obtained from adults.

All three of the sources should be used in the research. That is why the "Protocol for the Collection of Traditional Games (Forms A1 and A2)" has been so constructed as to allow its implementation in all of the three alternatives.

2. Form A2 is employed in the first two of the alternatives.

a) It is very important to observe what the children actually play when they gather and when they are out of adult control. That is how we discover the games that constitute a vital part of the childhood culture. Besides, the bulk of these games can be compared with the bulk of the traditional games, which are known in a given culture, but are not being actively played by the children any more. Such an intercorrelation of the obtained information enables us to investigate the important sociocultural processes which influence the playing behavior of children, and through that, their entire development.

b) The tentative research of traditional games has shown that the children know many games, which they don't, otherwise, play. This fact is interesting and indicative. That is why the research should include the interview with a number of children about the games they know, and perhaps they should be requested to enact these in front of the researcher.

c) The observation of the children's playing activities should be performed in the following way: a) select the places where children's playing can be observed; b) determine the size and composition of the sample of children; observe and record only the traditional games, and not all the playing activities that occur at the place of observation.

3. Descriptive facts about the game. It is well known that the commonly perceived elements of a phenomena are those that are deemed to be important. Forms A1 and A2 stress important structural elements of the game, which will be indispensible for the various kinds of analyses of children's traditional games. It should be noted that this part of the protocol serves as a memorandum for the researcher, while all that happens in a game should be recorded. The objective of research is to give a description of the game which would be as detailed as possible, regardless of whether it is observed or obtained by word of mouth from the children.

In the description of the course of the game, all elements should be recorded into detail:

a) Note in detail all kinds of commencements of the game. Counting off and other verbal forms may be recorded on tape.

b) A game takes place as a sequence of children's activities. All these activities should be recorded. Also, record everything that the children speak at the time, whether it be a formula of the game, or spontaneous speech, which occurs in many games. The songs the children chant, if existing, should also be noted down.

c) Fictive space and fictive time appear in the game as a contrast to real space and time. Thus, children may imagine the battlefield, the Wild West, home, a kingdom, a spaceship, the jungle, etc., just as the game may be located in historical time, in another season of the year, at night, etc.

d) Roles should be described in detail, especially if they are opposed, as oppositions are important structural elements of play. Imaginary roles, if existing, should also be noted down, as sometimes a child, or an entire group of children, imagine the oppositional forces (the so-called enemy) or the partners.

e) In addition to the real requisites of the game (toys, materials), imaginary requisites should also be recorded. E.g., one child possesses a "golden apple", and the other, a "golden pear"; the players have to choose between the two imaginary requisites.

f) The rules of the game may be imbedded in the role, which is the case with many traditional games, or they may be formalized to a greater extent, similarly to sports regulations. In addition to a detailed, description of the game, this difference should be stressed, as it indicates the degree of saturation of the game with symbolical elements, which, in turn, has to be considered in the classification of games. It may occur that the children vary the rules of the game, which should be noted. The variations should be described in detail.

4. Communication between the children during the course of the game. In games, there are two levels of communication between the players: a) one is set by the fictive situation, the roles and the rules of the game, and b) the other, by the actual relationships between the children, or by the moods that occur in the course of the game. Both these levels are equally important for the children, as social experience. While recording the game, the two levels should be kept apart, and should be described equally well.

5. Children's play in general and traditional children's games in particular are immanently historical, social and cultural phenomena. The types of children's games, the way of playing, depend on the civilizational processes, the general social relationship, the type of culture and the place of play and games in it, the types and relationships in the families, the place of children as a social group in the society, the prevailing type of education and the dominant relationship between children and adults.

The societies and cultures differ among themselves greatly according to the play in general and to traditional games in particular; but, under the influence of historical and social processes, in one and the same society and culture the play and games are exposed to permanent changes.

To know more about children's play and games, about children of today themselves, it is important to collect and research traditional children's games in the historical, social and cultural context.

Therefore it is necessary to adopt the so called "rich interpretation" (opposed to "writting grammar"), a methodological procedure developed in researches of children's communication and talking. This procedure, of course, has to be adapted to the subject of research in the project "Anthologies of Traditional Children's Games". The items in the protocols concerning the facts about the settlement where the observed games take place, are formulated for that purpose.

b) Some very important historical, social and cultural aspects are hardly possible to formulate as an item in the protocol. Therefore it is very important to make rich descriptions about the degree of the institutionalization of children's life and education, of the general social attitude toward children's play (encouraging, negative, indifferent, etc.), about the types of families and the prevailing social strata the families belong, of the types of adult's culture, specially their passtimes, and how much the children join and are involved in various forms of adults' passtimes. It is necessary that the descriptions are done in such a way to enable the latter analyses to establish different relationships between the "text" (traditional game) and its "context" (historical, social and cultural).

6. Form A1 is used as an interview with adult informers. It contains the same elements as Form A2. It differs in following elements:

a) There are some differences in the facts about the informers.

b) It is necessary to collect the facts about the settlement to which the adult informer (i.e., the traditional game) belongs, on two levels: the present and the past. That means that in connection with all items, the present situation and how it was in the past when the informer was a child, should be described. Data collected in such a way will make possible to trace the changes which took place in the time that devides generations.

c) It does not contain the paragraph about the communication between the players.